

O B S E R V A T I O N S

ON THE

P A S S A G E

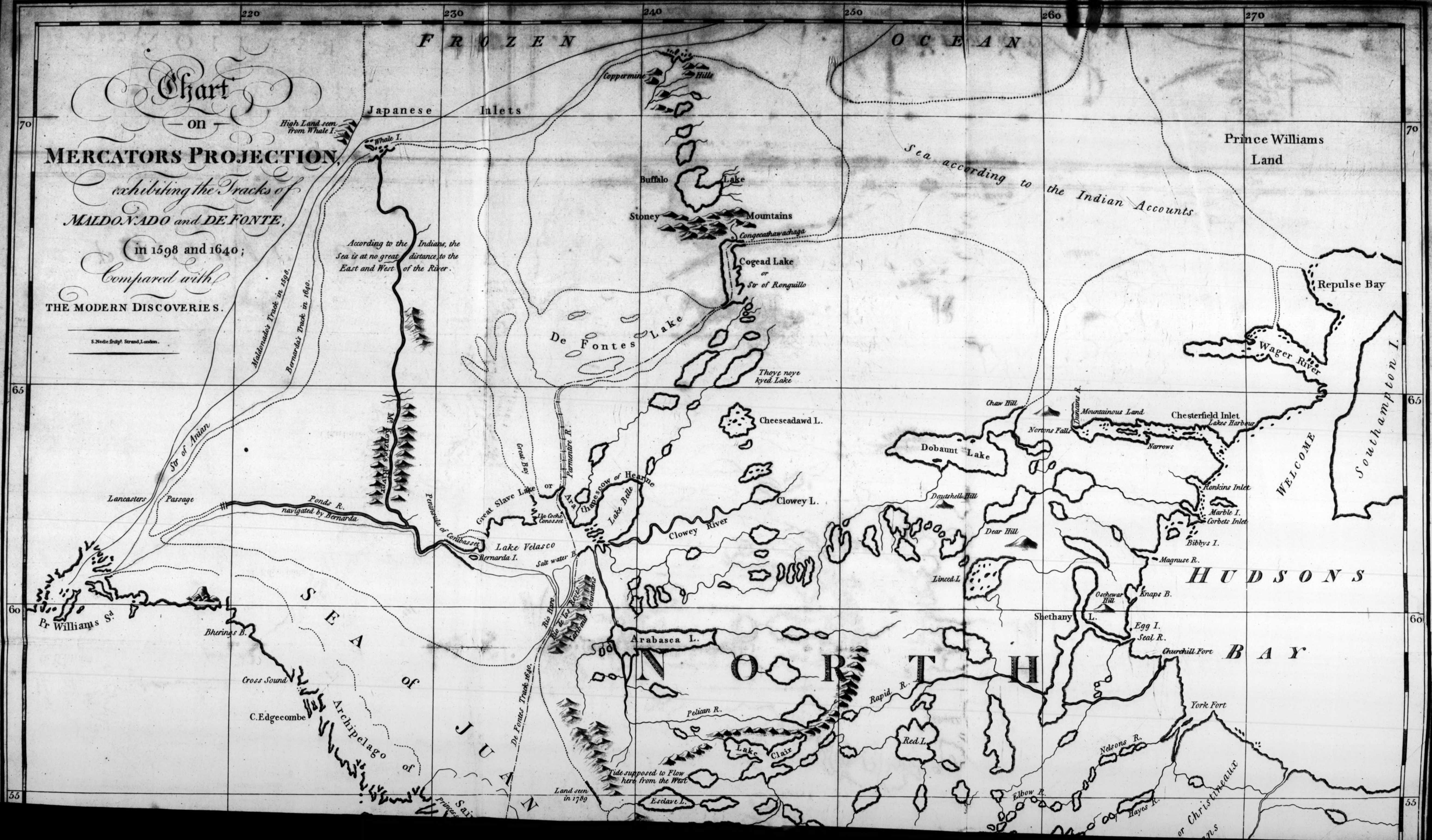
BETWEEN THE

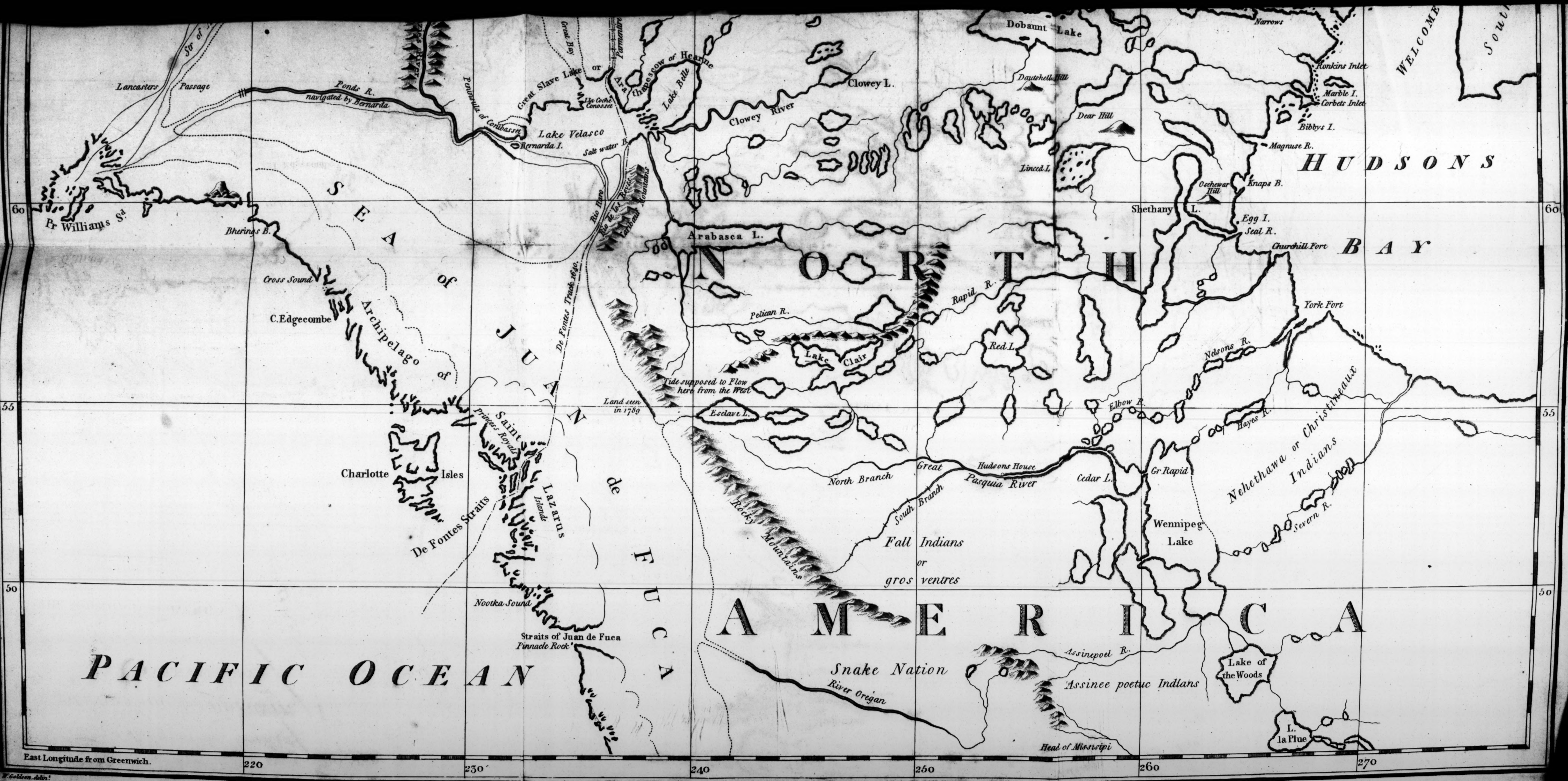
ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC OCEANS.

Chart
on
MERCATORS PROJECTION.

Exhibiting the Tracks of
MALDONADO and DE FONTE,
in 1598 and 1640;
Compared with
THE MODERN DISCOVERIES.

S. Nodding Engraver, Strand, London.





East Longitude from Greenwich. 220 230 240 250 260 270

146d12

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
PASSAGE
BETWEEN THE
ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC OCEANS,
IN TWO
MEMOIRS
ON THE
STRAITS OF ANIAN,
AND THE
DISCOVERIES OF DE FONTE.
ELUCIDATED BY A
NEW AND ORIGINAL MAP.
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED AN
HISTORICAL ABRIDGEMENT
OF
DISCOVERIES
IN THE
NORTH OF AMERICA.

By WILLIAM GOLDSON.

NOS SEQUIMUR PROBABILIA.
CICERO.

PORTSMOUTH:

Printed by W. MOWBRAY, and sold by Mr. JORDAN, FLEET-STREET.

M,DCC,XCIII.



TO THE
MERCHANTS
TRADING TO THE
NORTH - WEST COAST
OF
AMERICA.

GENTLEMEN,

THE immense distance to which you extended the commerce of your country, by fitting out vessels to trade on the north-west coast of America, gave the world sufficient cause to admire your public spirit; and the nation cheerfully acquiesced in the expences of an armament, which obtained satisfaction for your losses, at the same time it asserted the undisputed right of Great Britain to the free navigation of the Pacific Ocean.

The geography of that part of America has received more improvement, from the researches of the persons entrusted with your commercial concerns, than could have been expected, when we consider, that their object was trade and not discovery; as, by their means, the accounts, both of De Fuca and De Fonte, have been rescued from that oblivion to which they were consigned by the jealousy of the Court of Spain.

A

The

The advantages likely to accrue from a communication between the two seas, must be an object worthy your notice, and the public look forward to the result of your future equipments, in expectation that they will determine a question, which has so long engaged the attention of the geographer, as well as the merchant. For which reason I have taken the liberty to submit the following pages to your consideration, and I shall feel a secret satisfaction, should they in anywise conduce towards the accomplishment of an object so desirable.

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your obedient,

Humble Servant,

WILLIAM GOLDSON.

PORTSEA TOWN,

Sept. 22, 1793.

P R E F A C E.

THE liberal reward which the legislature has provided for the discovery of a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, is a sufficient proof, that the subject of the following sheets is of considerable importance; and though it ceased to be an object of popular animadversion, after the failure of the voyage which was undertaken by subscription in the year 1746, yet the attention of the public has been recently engaged, by the discoveries made on the north-west coast of the American continent.

At that period, when it became no longer an incitement to further researches, there was no existing branch of commerce which could be benefited by it, excepting that invested in the East India Company, the directors of which had given up all ideas of a passage ever since the return of Bylot and Baffin in the year 1616. But if any communication do exist, it ought more particularly to engage the attention of the government in the present day, as it must most assuredly tend, to encrease the value of the trade which has been established at Nootka Sound.

The succeeding pages are published with an intention, to offer some observations, which I flatter myself may throw new light on the subject; and as the straits which have obtained the general name of Anian, and the opening discovered by De Fonte, are considered to be two distinct inlets, contrary to the received opinions it was thought better to divide it into two distinct memoirs.

I was led to examine the different accounts which have been published relative to the Straits of Anian, in consequence of the notice given by Monsieur Buache, the French geographer, at a meeting of the Academy of Sciences at Paris in the year 1790, that the journal of a voyage, performed as early as the year 1598, had been lately discovered at Cadiz; by which it appears, that a passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans was then effected by one Ferrer de Maldonado, an officer in the Spanish service, and that the Strait, through which he passed into the South Sea, obtained from him the name of Anian.

The voyages made from England subsequent to this period, for the purpose of discovering a north-west passage, having been fitted out in consequence of the return of Captain Lancaster from the East Indies, where he received some intelligence that it was to be found in latitude 62 deg. 30 min. north, in the north-west of America, and as the commanders severally appear to have followed the same track, as far as circumstances would permit, I am inclined to believe, that he founded his report from the knowledge he had gained

gained of this voyage, and, contrary to the generally received opinion, I suppose that he is to be understood, as speaking of the west instead of the east side of the American continent. This opinion is supported by the maps published prior to the 17th century, in which the straits are placed nearly in the latitude of Cook's River and Prince William's Sound, their situation in the later maps having been varied according to the caprice of the geographer, in consequence of the reports that inlets had been discovered by different navigators in latitudes further to the southward.

As I found, in the prosecution of this subject, it would be necessary for me to refer to several voyages which have been made in the north of America, to save the reader the trouble of having recourse to a number of other books, I intended to prefix a short abridgement of such as were more immediately connected with the subject; but I afterwards thought it would be better to extend the plan, and have accordingly given a concise account of the whole, in the order in which they were undertaken. In the execution of this part of the work the reader will perceive, that I have been under considerable obligations to Mr. Forster's Voyages and Discoveries in the North, and at the same time, I must confess the assistance I have received from Mons. Buache's Observations Geographiques et Physiques.

De Fonte's report has been the subject of much controversy, in which the opinions have been so various, that the account was gradually

dually falling into general discredit, when the return of Captain Cook, whose authority was considered as being conclusive, led the world to suppose, that the whole was a mere fabrication. But later discoveries have given it authenticity; and that part of the following pages which treats on this subject, is founded on these discoveries. Contrary to the general idea, that the communication is by means of the Chesterfield or some other Inlet in that situation, I have placed the opening more to the northward, communicating with Repulse Bay, which has not been explored, except by Middleton, who only spent one short day for that purpose.

In respect to the map, it will be proper to remark, that as it was only intended to elucidate the subject, it was not necessary that it should be constructed with the same critical exactness as if it were for the purpose of navigation. Those parts of Maldonado's and Bernarda's tracks, which are to the northward of the Coppermine River, were omitted, for fear of extending it beyond a convenient size, and it was thought better, for the same reason, that the readers should have recourse to the common maps of Baffin's Bay, for the tracks of the different voyages contained in the Historical Abridgement.

C O N T E N T S.

Historical Abridgement of Discoveries in the North of America.

INTRODUCTION	-	-	3	XVIII.	1615	Bylot and Baffin, 1st	-	29
I.	1497	Sebastian Cabot	12	XIX.	1616	ditto 2d	-	30
II.	1500	Gaspar de Cortereal	13	XX.	—	Wm. Hawkbridge	-	32
III.	1576	Sir M. Frobisher 1st	15	XXI.	1619	Jens Munk	-	33
IV.	1577	ditto 2d	15	XXII.	1631	Lucas Fox	-	33
V.	1578	ditto 3d	16	XXIII.	1631	Thomas James	-	35
		Observations on Frobisher's Straits	17	XXIV.	1668	Zachary Gillam	-	36
VI.	1585	John Davis 1st	19	XXV.	1719	Knight and Barlow	-	38
VII.	1586	ditto 2d	20	XXVI.	1722	Scroggs	-	39
VIII.	1587	ditto 3d	20	XXVII.	1741	Behring and Tschirikoff	-	40
IX.	1602	George Weymouth	22	XXVIII.	1741	Christopher Middleton	-	40
X.	1605	Lindenau and Hall, 1st	24	XXIX.	1746	Moore and Smith	-	43
XI.	1606	ditto 2d	25	XXX.	1761-62	Christopher and Norton	-	45
XII.	1606	John Knight	25	XXXI.	1771	Hearne	-	46
XIII.	1607	Richards and Hall	26	XXXII.	1775	Heceta	-	48
XIV.	1610	Henry Hudson	26	XXXIII.	1776	Capt. Cook	-	49
XV.	1612	Thomas Button	27	XXXIV.	1776	Lieut. Pickersgill	-	51
XVI.	1612	James Hall	28	XXXV.	1777	— Young	-	52
XVII.	1614	Gibbons	29	XXXVI.	1790	Mr. Duncan	-	52

Memoir on the Straits of Anian.

INTRODUCTION	-	-	57	Voyages in consequence of De Fuca's Discoveries	-	-	75
California discovered by Cortes, 1539	60			Vizcaino's first Voyage, 1596	-	-	76
Coronado discovers Teguayo and Quivira 1540	60			Ship St. Augustin, 1595—1598	-	-	76
Voyage of Fernando Alarcon 1540	61			Ferrer de Maldonado, 1598	-	-	76
Observations on the Gulph of California	62			Vizcaino's second Voyage	-	-	78
Voyage of J. Rodriguez de Cabrillo, 1542	63			Martin Aguilar's Discoveries	-	-	79
— Juan de Fuca, 1592	64			Observations on Maldonado's Voyage	-	-	81
Observations on Discoveries of De Fuca	65			Discoveries of the Canadian Traders	-	-	84
Straits of De Fuca recognized in 1717	66			Frozen Ocean discovered	-	-	85
Sea of De Fuca re-discovered	66			Observations on the Japanese Map of Kämpfer	-	-	86
Communicates with Sea of Quivira	67			Cook's Account of Prince William's Sound	-	-	89
Remarks on Padoucas or Welsh Indians	71						

CONTENTS.

	page		page
Lancaster's Account of a N. W. Passage	91	Observations on the Navigation of the	
Voyages made from his Report	93	Northern Seas	116
Inquiry into the Name of Anian	100	CONCLUSION	120
Origin of the Name	114		

Memoir on the Discoveries of De Fonte.

INTRODUCTION	125	De Fonte's Lake, the Edland Lake of	
Intention of the Spaniards in communi-		Hearne	139
cating Maurelle's Journal	126	Straits of Ronquillo, the Cogead Lake of	
Account of De Fonte's Narrative	128	Hearne	140
Archipelago of St. Lazarus recognized in		Communicates with Repulse Bay	142
1785 and 1787	133	Objections against De Fonte's Narrative	
Observations on Bernarda's Track	135	considered	145
Lake Velasco, part of the Slave Lake	135	Affinity between the Nootka Names and	
Bernarda's Isle and Peninsula of Conibaf-		those in De Fonte's account	153
set recognized in 1789	136	Observations on northern parts of Ameri-	
Observations on Pond's Narrative	136	ca, 155	
Lake Belle, part of the Slave Lake	138	CONCLUSION	158

AN
HISTORICAL ABRIDGEMENT
OF
DISCOVERIES
IN THE
NORTH of AMERICA,
COLLECTED FROM
VARIOUS AUTHORS.
WITH
OCCASIONAL NOTES and OBSERVATIONS.

HISTORICAL ABRIDGMENT

DISCOVERIES

NORTH AMERICA

VARIOUS AUTHORS

OCCASIONAL NOTES BY OTTAVIUS

INTRODUCTION.

THE revolutions, that have taken place in the political system of Europe, are more decidedly marked in the maritime states of Italy than in most other countries. In the present day, their consequence is very low; but they are well known, at a former period, to have commanded a considerable proportion of the balance of power, by the formidable strength of their fleets. This great extent of their naval force was acquired by their situation on the coasts of the Mediterranean. Their proximity to a sea so well adapted, by the mild temperature of its climate, for the purposes of navigation, added to the security which the freedom of their several constitutions gave to the property of individuals, could not well fail to excite endeavours favourable to the extension of their commerce. While the inhabitants of Egypt and Asia Minor, on the other hand, notwithstanding they enjoyed an equal advantage, by being situated on the same sea, yet being depressed by the tyranny of their conquerors, and having no security in their property, were obliged to abandon the advantages of their situation to foreigners. This gave Italy an opportunity, by sacrificing to the avarice of the Turkish government, of ob-

INTRODUCTION.

taining from time to time a monopoly in their trade; and the produce of the East, brought to the shores of the Red Sea and Persian Gulph, and forwarded from thence by caravans to the ports of the Mediterranean, found its way to Europe, through the medium of the Genoese and Venetian merchants.

The Italians continued to enjoy, unmolested, this lucrative monopoly for a series of years, until the Portuguese, discovering another channel to supply the European market, gave a check to their trade, and formed a grand epocha in the history of navigation.

During the former part of the fifteenth century, having successively discovered the Cape de Verde Islands, and the coasts of Guinea and Congo, the Portuguese extended their researches to the southward under Bartholomew Diaz, who sailed as far as the southern extremity of Africa, in the year 1486, which he named Cabo de todos los Tormientos; but, from the account which he gave of this new discovery on his return to Lisbon, the Court of Portugal, seeing the prospect which was now before them of finding a passage to the East Indies, called it the Cape of Good Hope, which name it has retained ever since. Thus were they at last in a fair way of accomplishing an object, which had employed their attention for more than seventy years, from the time they first gained a possession on the coast of Barbary, by the conquest of Ceuta in 1415.

The

There are French authors who contend that some vessels from Dieppe visited the Coast of Africa so early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, and it is asserted that a map was laid before the Court of Portugal, prior to the expedition of Diaz, on which the southern point of the continent was marked with the name of *Fonteira di Africa*; but this is no proof that the Cape had been seen by any European before him. It appears rather to have been the production of some geographer, who, wishing to excite the attention of his countrymen to the discovery of the Indian seas, collected the opinions of the ancients on this subject, and, delineating the track on a map, laid it before the King of Portugal for the direction of any person who might be found to undertake the voyage.

The infant Don Henry, being led by inclination to study geography, became the patron of every expedition for the discovery of new countries. His ample fortune was wholly expended in educating young noblemen, and rewarding the learned of all nations who were willing to enter into his service. The place of his residence, near Sagres in Algarve, became the seat of the sciences necessary to promote the study of navigation. During the space of more than forty years, from 1420 to 1463, he continued to draw the attention of his countrymen towards his favourite object. The spirit of the nation, having been thus habituated to enterprize, could not fail to take advantage of this important discovery. Within ten years after the return of Diaz,

Vasco

INTRODUCTION.

Vasco de Gama sailed round the new discovered Cape, and after trading with the inhabitants of the Coast of Malabar, returned safe to Europe, loaded with the produce of the East, sufficient to answer the most sanguine expectations of the adventurers, and at the same time giving them firm assurances of success, if they would extend their commerce in those seas.

The expence of landing and again reshipping goods, which was necessarily the case, in their passage through Egypt and Syria, added to the exorbitant imposts, which were often arbitrarily put upon the trade by the Turkish governors, being saved by an immediate intercourse with India, the Portuguese adventurers had so decided a superiority in the market, that in a few years the trade of Italy with the East dwindled to nothing. Having lost the means of subsistence, their seamen were forced to seek that employ in other states, which the misfortunes of their country denied them in their own. As her trade declined, so declined the power of Venice. After having been one of the most considerable states in Europe, in a few years her naval force became nearly annihilated, and the Turks, gradually stripping her of her possessions in the Mediterranean and the Morea, left her scarcely able to protect the little remains of her commerce from the depredations of the Barbary pirates.

The success of the Portuguese stimulated other nations to follow their steps, and it is a circumstance which has been heretofore
thought

INTRODUCTION.

7

thought worthy of remark, that Spain, England, and France should be equally indebted to Italy for men to conduct those expeditions, which laid the foundation of their present maritime consequence. Spain owes her American possessions to the enterprising spirit of Columbus, a native of Genoa; Cabot, a Venetian, first discovered Newfoundland, in the service of England; and Verazzani, who first led the French to Canada, was a Florentine by birth. To this remark it may not be thought improper to add a short observation on the difference of their respective fates.

Verazzani, in his second voyage, fell a victim to his ardour for the undertaking, being cut to pieces in an ambush, and devoured by the savages of the country which he had discovered, by which means the country, in whose service he had failed, was deprived of the satisfaction of rewarding him for his merits, as he deserved (*a*).

The days of Columbus were shortened by the ingratitude of a people, for whom he had opened a road to the riches of a new world, and the monument, which was erected to his memory
after

(*a*) Verazzani sailed from France, in the service of Francis the First, in the year 1524; and, after coasting the continent from 30° north latitude along the coasts of Carolina and Virginia, he discovered a country in the latitude of 56° north, which he called New France. He is said to have made a second voyage, and Ramusio positively asserts, that he and his people were cut to pieces and devoured by the natives upon their landing.

INTRODUCTION.

after his death, will remain an indelible disgrace on the annals of the Spanish history.

A Castila, ya Leon.

Nuevo mundo dio Colon (b).

Although no monument covers the remains of the first discoverer of Newfoundland, yet it should be remembered, that a grateful sense of his merits is still retained in the breasts of the English nation. It ought likewise to be recorded, to the honour of his employers, that Sebastian Cabot was not neglected when his age rendered him incapable of conducting their researches; but that he was honoured with the direction of their affairs, as Governor of the Company established to prosecute discoveries, and enabled likewise to live in affluence, by the emoluments of his office as grand pilot of the country he had served (c).

Reasoning upon the principle, that the globe being a spherical body, a westerly course would bring them to the eastern parts of the countries, a passage to which had been opened on the other side by this recent discovery of the Portugeze, the Spaniards, under

(b) To Castile and Leon Colon gave a new world.

(c) Purchas says, that the great preparations making for the war with Scotland prevented Cabot's prosecuting his discoveries, whereupon he went to Spain, and sailed up the river Plate. He was Pilot Major of Spain. In 1549 he returned to England, and was constituted Grand Pilot by Edward the Sixth, with a yearly pension of 166l. 13s. 4d.

INTRODUCTION.

9

under the command of Columbus, fell in with a new continent in 1492. After having built forts to protect their troops, in the parts they first arrived at, they rapidly pushed their conquests to the westward, and in a few years established themselves at Panama, under Nunez de Balbao. A new object now engaged their attention. This expedition led them to the borders of another ocean, and they found that America was divided, by a vast extent of sea, from the places in search of which they had ventured to depart from their usual track, and to cross the Atlantic by a route which no navigator had been bold enough to explore before. Having failed in their original plan by this unexpected discovery, they continued to examine the eastern coasts until Magellan (*d*) passed the southern extremity through the straits, which bear his name, in 1519, and arrived in India, part of his fleet returning home safe by the Cape of Good Hope.

The wonderful accounts which they had read of the Indies in the relations of Marco Polo and others, who had travelled thither by land, being verified by the representations of those who returned in Magellan's fleet, the northern powers of Europe were anxious to obtain a share in the golden traffic; but as the voyage was rendered so very circuitous by a passage so far to the southward, and as Magellan was obliged to sail into the other hemisphere again before he could arrive at the object of his destination,

C

(*d*) I have retained the old orthography; but his name is now generally supposed to have been Magelhaens.

INTRODUCTION.

tion, their attention was called to another route, and expeditions were accordingly set on foot to find a passage round the northern extremity of the same continent.

An Historical Abridgement of these attempts will be here inserted, with an intent to shew what progress has been made, and how far the several voyages have been connected with each other.

HISTORICAL

HISTORICAL ABRIDGEMENT

O F

DISCOVERIES.

CONTAINING

The Voyages of Sebastian Cabot—Gaspar de Cortereal—Three Voyages of Sir Martin Frobisher—Observations on Frobisher's Straits—Three Voyages of John Davis—Voyage of George Weymouth—Two Voyages of Lindenau and Hall—Voyages of Richardt and Hall—Knight—Hudson—Button—Hall—Gibbons—Two Voyages of Bylot and Baffin—Voyages of Hawksbridge—Jens Munck—Lucas Fox—James—Gillam—Knight and Barlow—Scroggs—Middleton—Moore and Smith—Behring and Tchirikoff—Christopher and Norton—Inland Expedition of Hearne—Voyages of Heceta—Cook—Pickersgill—Young—Duncan.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Bishop of Ceuta, and the other commissioners to whom his petition was referred by the Court of Portugal, considered the idea of reaching the coasts of Japan by a western route as visionary, Columbus still persisted in his opinion; and determining to leave no means untried that might

promote his equipment set out with an intention to solicit the Court of Spain, dispatching his brother, Bartholomew, for the same purpose, to England; who, on his arrival, presented to Henry the Seventh a map of the world drawn by himself, in which was delineated the probable existence of, what his brother contended for, a passage to the eastern parts of Asia, by a track different from that which the Portuguese had discovered by the Cape of Good Hope (e).

SEB. CABOT.
1497.

I. The proposals of Columbus being founded only upon conjecture, the expence of fitting out an expedition without a certain prospect of gain, was an unsurmountable bar to his success, with a prince whose ruling passion was a thirst for gold. But the subsequent discoveries, made by his brother, were no sooner known, than Henry began to regret his parsimony, and immediately granted a commission to Sebastian Cabot, who sailed in May 1497, and after discovering the island now called Newfoundland, explored the coast as far to the southward as the Chesapeake,

(e) Several endeavours have been made to detract from the merit of Columbus, by insinuating that he gained his knowledge of a western continent from a pilot of Madeira, who had been driven there by a storm; and that he was likewise informed of the possibility of reaching Japan by a western course by Martin Behaim, who was his intimate friend. But, in justice to his memory, it should be remarked that, notwithstanding Behaim, with Roderic and Joseph, two Jew physicians, agreeably to the orders of the King of Portugal, adapted the astrolabe to the purposes of navigation in 1487, yet he did not make his globe until he went to reside at Nuremberg in 1492; consequently it is more likely that the idea of reaching Japan by a western route originated with Columbus than with Behaim, as Bartholomew, his brother, delineated it on his map, which he presented to the King of England in 1488.

Chesapeake, being most undoubtedly the original discoverer of SEB. CABOT.
the continent of America. 1497

II. The Portuguese, anxious to supersede their neighbours, and CORTEREAL.
to profit by the discoveries which were daily made, as soon as it 1500
was known that Cabot had visited the coasts of Newfoundland,
dispatched Gaspar de Cortereal to follow the same track. He
sailed from the Tagus in 1500, and having coasted the eastern
side of Newfoundland, still continuing his course to the north-
ward, fell in with a country which he called Terra de Labrador,
the name it still retains. Some authors contend that he saw the
opening of a strait, which he supposed to have communication
with the sea of Japan, to which he gave the name of Anian. He
made a second voyage to explore this discovery, but perished
in the attempt, as did likewise Michael de Cortereal, who under-
took the same voyage with two ships, in order to determine the
fate of his brother.

Spain and Portugal being envious of each others power, to
prevent disputes, Pope Alexander VI. drew a line to limit their
respective expeditions, dividing the globe into two equal parts of
180 degrees each, beyond which neither power was at liberty to
extend its researches. This famous boundary was denominat-
ed the linea de demarcation, and was adjusted at Tordefillas by
a treaty signed in 1494. But both nations having reciprocally
broken the stipulations agreed upon by the treaty, commissioners
were

HISTORICAL ABRIDGEMENT

were appointed to adjust the differences, and they were at length finally settled by a treaty signed at Saragossa in 1529, by which it was agreed, that the limits of 1494 should remain in full force, and that the Spaniards should give up their pretensions to the Molucca Islands, in consideration of 350,000 ducats, to be paid them by the Court of Portugal. This agreement between the two Courts accounts for our not hearing of any more attempts, on the part of the Portuguese, to discover a passage.

There is indeed an hearsay account of a voyage, made by one Martin Chaque, in 1555, who, according to the affidavit of one Cowles preserved by Purchas, passed many islands and a gulph near Newfoundland, in about 59 deg. north latitude.

Mr. Buache likewise, in his *Considerations Geographiques et Physiques*, relates an expedition under the command of David Melguer, in 1660, who went from Japan to 84 deg. north latitude, and then passed between Greenland and Spitzbergen.

The English, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, turned their attention towards America, and the government began to think of reaping some advantages from the discoveries of Cabot. During the reign of Henry VII. there appears to have been too much indolence in the administration to attend to concerns of this nature, and his successor was too much involved in his wars with France and Scotland, and his disputes with the Pope, to be at leisure to reap any advantage from the discoveries made in the reign

reign of his father (*f*). The reigns of Edward VI. and Mary were too short for the nation to exert itself in any great degree. A company was, however, established, and some voyages made to the north east, under the direction of Cabot, who was chosen their governor, and at whose instance the expeditions were set on foot, by Willoughby, Burrow, &c.

But as soon as Elizabeth had established herself on the throne, under her auspices, the company began to flourish, and Sir Martin Frobisher was intrusted with the command in three successive voyages, set on foot by them to the north west between the years 1576 and 1578.

III. In his first voyage, he went out with three small ships, and saw the land, in 61 deg. north latitude, on the 11th of July, which he supposed to be the Friesland heretofore discovered by Zeno. On the 28th of the same month, he saw land again, which he took for the coast of Labrador discovered by Cortereal in 1500. On the 11th of August, he found himself in a strait, and lost a boat with some of his sailors. Having seized one of the Indians, he returned home.

FROBISHER.

1576

IV. In his second voyage, he arrived in the same strait, which he had called Frobisher's Straits; but finding it blocked up with ice

FROBISHER.

1577

(*f*) Cabot sailed under the patronage of Henry the VIIth; but the principal expence of the voyage was defrayed by the merchants of Bristol, and in the reign of Henry the VIIIth two ships were sent on discoveries at the instance of Robert Thorne, of Bristol, whose father was the chief supporter of Cabot's expedition.

FROBISHER.

1577

ice on the 4th of July, he was obliged to land with his boats, and returned without having been able to come to anchor.

FROBISHER.

1578

V. The Queen, however, being satisfied with his report of the probability of reaching the country of Kathai, bestowed upon the new discovered land the name of Meta Incognita, and ordered him to proceed on a third voyage, with materials to build a fort, and to leave three ships with a hundred men, under the command of Captains Fenton, Best and Filpot. He sailed on the 31st of May, 1578, and discovered West Friesland, which he called West England. He landed here, and took possession of it, finding the huts, tents and furniture to be the same as he had heretofore seen in Meta Incognita. When he arrived at Frobisher's Straits, he could not penetrate through the ice; but, in the attempt, lost one of the ships, which contained part of the materials for the intended settlement. The Admiral sent one of his vessels into an inlet, through which she passed into the Straits. He explored the numerous islands in the vicinity, and came to an anchor in Warwick Sound. As great part of the timber for building the fort was lost, he gave up the design of leaving the men who were intended to winter here, and returned to England. On his return, the Buys Bridgewater saw land in 57 deg. 30 min. north latitude, the coast of which she sailed along for three days (g).

From

(g) Quere. Is this the Buys Island still retained in the newest charts?

From this relation it appears, that Frobisher discovered a strait somewhere about the latitude of 62 deg. 30 min. This has been placed upon the charts in the southern parts of Greenland; and, notwithstanding the authority of Egede, who, in his History of Greenland, not only from reports received from the natives, but from his own surveys, denies the existence of these straits, yet the Meta Incognita has been continued on the maps of Greenland. Mr. Arrowsmith lays down Frobisher's discoveries on the other side of Davis' Straits. In testimony of his accuracy, I have attended to this voyage more than might be thought necessary; but whenever a geographer deviates from a long established position in respect to the situation of a country, it is necessary that the observations of the different explorers should be thoroughly examined. Egede appears to have been the first to have started any objection against the existence of these discoveries of Frobisher, in the southern part of Greenland (*h*). If the above account of these voyages be examined, Arrowsmith's alteration will appear to be well founded. In the first voyage, Frobisher saw the land, which he supposed to be the Friesland of Zeno, on the

Observations on
Frobisher's Straits.

D

11th

(*h*) 'There are a great many inlets and rivers to be met with in Greenland, among which the principal is Baals River, in 64 degrees, which has been navigated 18 or 20 Norway miles up the country, where the first Danish settlement was made in 1721. In all sea charts you will find laid down Frobisher's Straits and Baer Sound, which, they pretend, form two large islands adjacent to the main land; which, I think, are not to be found, at least, not upon the coast of Greenland; for I could not meet with any thing like it in the voyage I undertook, in the year 1723, southward, going upon discoveries, though I went to 60 degrees that way; but at present the newer charts lay them down, the northern strait in 63, the southern in 62 degrees. Some of the ancients, which Thormoder follows in his Greenland History, place them between 61 and 60 degrees.'—Egede's History of Greenland.

Observations on
Frobisher's Straits.

11th of July, on the 28th he was on the coast of Labrador, and on the 11th of August he entered the strait. In the second voyage he could not enter it on account of the ice. After his return from this voyage, the Queen gave the name of *Meta Incognita* to the new discovered country, and in the next he gave the name of *West England* to *West Friesland*, which he discovered on the 20th of June, where he found the huts, &c. of the natives similar to those which had been seen before in the *Meta Incognita*. I think it is very clear that Frobisher went *from* West Friesland, or what he then called West England, in search of the land he had formerly seen; as in the first voyage he saw the Friesland of Zeno on the 11th of July, and touched at the Coast of Labrador on the 28th following, *after which* he saw the strait he called by his own name. In this strait was the Countess of Warwick's Sound; and when Davis named this passage afterwards, Lumley's Inlet, and the Cape, Warwick's Foreland, it was from the knowledge he had of Frobisher's discoveries upon the same spot.

Frobisher having effected very little in these voyages, the attention of the company was again turned to the prosecution of the discovery to the north east. But a new association of merchants, to whom were joined several noblemen and persons of property, was formed in 1585. They appointed John Davis, an experienced navigator, to conduct an expedition to the parts which Frobisher had visited. He continued in the command during
three

voyages, and it is but justice to his memory to remark, that the result confirmed the opinion they had entertained of him. A tolerably accurate account of these voyages has been preserved by Hackluyt and Purchas, and as they are of considerable importance, I shall attempt to give a concise detail of them.

VI. He sailed on his first voyage from Dartmouth, on the 7th June, 1585. Steering a north west course he saw the land on the 20th of July, to which, on account of its barren appearance, he gave the name of the Land of Desolation. On the 29th, he entered Gilbert's Sound, an opening on the west coast of Greenland, which is called by the Danes the Bay of Good Haap. Standing from thence across the channel, which has since attained the name of Davis' Straits, after this navigator, he anchored in Totness Road, in 66 deg. 40 min. north latitude, on the eastern side of an island, which he called Cumberland Island. This was the northmost extent of his voyage; for sailing in a S. S. W. direction, he saw the south part of the island, which he named the Cape of God's Mercy, on the 11th August. Opening an inlet, in some places 20 leagues broad, he proceeded 60 leagues to the westward, where he found several islands with a passage on both sides of them. The tide flowed six or seven fathoms, and came from the eastward. He could get no ground with a line of 330 fathoms. As he continued his course to the south-west, he met with a counter tide, which gave him great hopes of being able to attain the object of his voyage; but thick fogs and

J. DAVIS.
1585

J. DAVIS.
1585

bad weather obliged him not only to desist from any further examination, but to sail out of the inlet, which he named Cumberland Strait, and to return home.

J. DAVIS.
1586

VII. He was more amply equipped on his second voyage, and great expectations were formed, from the circumstance of the counter tide which had checked his progress to the westward. He sailed on this voyage a month earlier than he did the last year, and first made the land on the east side of Greenland, about Statenhoeck. Having weathered the south part of the Land of Desolation, he again touched at Gilbert's Sound, where he had refreshed his crew in the former voyage. From thence he stretched over to Cumberland Straits, which he entered, and proceeded up them until he arrived at the islands where he had met with the western tide in the preceding year, sailing on the north side of them some considerable distance to the north-west: but the account of this voyage is not perfectly intelligible, from our having no astronomical observations to guide us, in determining how far he continued this course. On his return, he visited the coast of Labrador, and saw two inlets in the latitudes of 56 (*i*) and 54 deg. 30 min.

J. DAVIS.
1587

VIII. The third voyage, which was made in 1587, is well worthy our attention. He sailed from Dartmouth, with three ships, on the

(*i*) The inlet in 56 deg. which was supposed to have a communication with Hudson's Bay, was explored in the year 1753, and found to run about 20 leagues in a north-west direction; but the other, which is the Bay of Eskimaux, remains still unknown.

the 19th of May. After a third time visiting Gilbert's Sound, instead of following his former tracks to Cumberland Straits, he went along the coast of Greenland to the northward, and arrived at Disko, in latitude 67 deg. 40 min. where he traded with the natives. Continuing his course still to the northward, his latitude was 72 deg. 12 min. north, on the 30th of June, and the variation 28 deg. west. He gave the name of London Coast to those parts of the country, and a projecting point of land he called Hope Sanderfon. The wind at length coming to the northward, he was obliged to stand to the westward, which course he continued for 40 leagues, when his further progress was stopped by the ice, which obliged him to return to the southward. He went along the coast of the land which he had formerly seen, and again entered Cumberland Straits on the 20th July, steering to the westward, with an intention to comply with the tenor of his orders, which were to prosecute his former discoveries. Having gone 60 leagues, the same distance he failed before, within the inlet, he arrived at the islands where the tide had given him hopes of a passage. The only astronomical observation that we have, is, that the variation was 30 deg. west. Failing in his attempts to find a passage through, he returned, and went to the southward. Between the latitude 62 and 63, he saw an inlet which he called Lumly's Inlet(k). Continuing still to the southward, on his passage home, he discovered Warwick's Foreland and Cape Chidley, the two promontories forming the opening which

J. DAVIS.
1587

(k) The inlet which Frobisher had visited in 1578. Vide page 16

J. DAVIS.
1487

which was soon after visited by Hudson, and called after him Hudson's Straits.

The impenetrable secrecy which has always been observed by the Spaniards in respect to their voyages of discovery, has prevented our obtaining any perfect information, and the accidental, or perhaps wilful, inaccuracies which appear upon the face of those which have been published, have conduced to bring them into general discredit. As their object, however, has been the discovery of the Straits of Anian, and as those Straits will be the subject of a separate part, I shall defer taking any notice of them at present.

The resources of the English nation, and the whole of the maritime strength of the kingdom, being directed to repel the invasion threatened by the Spaniards with their invincible armada, is a probable reason why these important discoveries of Davis were not pursued. But the companies of Russia and Turkey merchants, after some years, formed a joint stock to fit out an expedition under the command of George Weymouth, in 1602.

G. WEYMOUTH
1602

IX. He sailed on the 2d of May with two flyboats, and, after weathering the Orkney islands, saw the south part of Greenland, off of which he sounded, and found 120 fathoms of water, which was black and very muddy, while in other places it was perfectly clear. He penetrated among the ice, and had very near lost his ships

ships by the bursting asunder of an island very near them. He was often retarded by fogs, which froze as they fell. In latitude 68 deg. 53 min. he fell in with an inlet forty leagues broad, through which he sailed, west and by south, a hundred leagues. The variation of the needle was 35 degrees to the west. Being prevented by the crew from proceeding any further, he returned, and, after exploring the Labrador Coast, sailed for England.

G. WEYMOUTH
1005

This account of Weymouth's voyage has been doubted in respect to the extent of his course, and it has been generally supposed that the strait which he discovered was that which Hudson sailed through afterwards. Guided by this idea, it has been the opinion of most geographers, that, instead of sailing as far to the northward as 68 deg. 53 min. he only reached as high as 63 deg. 53 min. and that the mistake was owing to the latitude having been marked in figures. By which means the opening which he saw, and through which he sailed a hundred leagues, would appear to be the entrance into Hudson's Bay. If any dependence could be placed upon his observations of the variation of the compass, we might be led to conclude that he followed the track of Davis, and went as far to the northward as 68 deg. but the variation of the needle is so very uncertain, particularly near the land, in those seas, that we can have no firm reliance upon the best observations. It may, however, be proper to remark, that the succeeding navigators only found 28 deg. in Hudson's Straits, while Davis, a few years before, found 30 deg. in Cumberland

C. WEYMOUTH
1602

Cumberland Straits; and as the variation was still encreasing, if the observation could be depended upon, it would be an argument in favour of his having attained to a higher degree of latitude than is generally agreed upon.

It will here be necessary to remark, that the united companies of Russia and Turkey merchants were disappointed by the result of this voyage. They began to think, that the obstacles, which the ships continually met with from the ice, would not only render the passage precarious, but that the advantages likely to be gained were of less consequence than had been supposed. They seem to have been led to this conclusion by the return of Raymond, Lancaster and Middleton, who had severally made successful voyages to India, by which means the passage by the Cape of Good Hope began to be better known. Queen Elizabeth had likewise granted an exclusive charter to the merchants trading to the East Indies for 15 years, which could not fail to damp the spirit of discovery to the northward. The company, therefore, appear in consequence to have dissolved the joint stock, and to have discontinued their researches.

LINDENAU and
HALL.
1605

X. In the year 1605, Christian the IV. King of Denmark, fitted out a fleet under the command of Gødske Lindenau, with an intention to search after the ancient settlement of East Greenland. The fleet consisted of three ships, two of which were under the command of English mariners, Hall and Knight. Lindenau attempted

OF DISCOVERIES.

25

tempted a landing on the east coast, while Hall passed Cape Farewell, and went over to the west side of Davis' Straits, where he first came to an anchor in 66 deg. 33 min. north latitude, and afterwards entered another harbour near Mount Cunningham, which he named Denmark's Haven. The utmost extent of his voyage was 69 deg. north.

LINDENAU and
HALL.
1605

XI. In the year 1606, Lindenau went again, and Hall commanded one of the ships. They both weathered Cape Farewell; but how far north they proceeded is uncertain, as we have no accurate account of this voyage.

LINDENAU and
HALL.
1606

In that age of enquiry, men of property were not long wanting in England to revive the spirit of enterprize. A society was accordingly formed, of which Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, Mr. Wolstenholme, and Alderman Jones, Directors of the East India Company's affairs, appear to have been the principals.

XII. Immediately after Knight's return from his voyage in the Danish Service, in 1605, he appears to have been sent for by this society, who appointed him to a command in 1606 (1). He sailed from the Orkneys on the 12th of May, and was encompassed by the ice, on the coast of Labrador, in latitude 57 deg. 23 min.

KNIGHT.
1606

E

north,

(1) This was very early after the charter was granted to the East India Company. Vide Observations on these Voyages, in the Memoir on the Straits of Anian.

KNIGHT.
1606

north, by which he was drifted to the southward, and his ship being much damaged, he was obliged to run her on shore. While he was searching for a convenient place to repair her, he was killed by a party of the natives. His death frustrated the intention of the expedition, as his successor in the command, after repairing the ship at Fogo, in Newfoundland, returned to England.

RICHARDS and
HALL.
1607

XIII. In the next year, 1607, Carsten Richards was sent by the King of Denmark with another ship, which Hall commanded; but they could not get near the shore on account of the ice, and the crew mutinying, they were obliged to return without effecting a landing.

HUDSON.
1610

XIV. In 1610, the English company fitted out a second expedition, to the command of which they appointed Henry Hudson, whose abilities as a navigator had been sufficiently displayed, in three voyages he had made to the northward, prior to his engagement with the company.

Hudson sailed in May, 1610. The dissensions among his crew, which ended at length in an open mutiny, began so early as the latter end of May, off the coast of Iceland. He weathered the Land of Desolation on the 15th of June, and directed his course across Davis' Straits, as far as the latitude 62 deg. 19 min. north, in which latitude he made the land. On the 8th of July, he named a part of the coast, Desire Provoked; continuing to the
westward

westward within the Straits, he discovered an opening between two capes, which were named after two of the gentlemen who were at the expence of fitting out the expedition, C. Digges and C. Wolstenholme. Passing through this opening, he discovered that extensive bay, which has been since called after his name. Following the direction of the coast, with hopes of effecting a passage, the ice set in, and obliged him to seek for a harbour upon the eastern shore, where he might most securely pass the winter. This long season of inactivity gave full scope to the mutinous inclinations of the crew, and immediately after they sailed, finding that Hudson meant to continue his researches, they forced him and eight others into a small boat, and left them to their fate. In their return home, the mutineers ran the ship ashore to the southward of Digges' Island, when, according to the narrative which was afterwards published by one of them, named Habakkuk Pricket, they found the tide to flow from the westward.

HUDSON.
1610

XV. To render assistance to the unfortunate Hudson, in case he should have survived, as his misfortunes could not fail to interest his employers, independent of the fresh hopes which were excited by his discoveries, was a sufficient inducement for the company to continue their researches. Prince Henry's name was added to the list of adventurers, "by whose assistance," Purchas says, "they pursued the action in more royal fashion, with greater shipping, under the command of a worthy seaman, servant to Prince Henry, Captain Thomas Button."

BUTTON.
1612

BUTTON.
1612

Button failed in May, 1612, as early after the fate of Hudson was known as the season would admit. After passing Digges' Island, he saw the land to the westward, which he named Carey Swan's Nest. Steering thence to the south west, he again saw the land in latitude 60 deg. 40 min. north, which, as it appeared to set aside the idea of a passage that way, he named Hopes Checked. Upon the approach of winter, he secured his ship in an harbour, in latitude 57 deg. 10 min. north, which he called Port Nelson, after his mate. He named the bay Button's Bay, and to the whole of the coast he gave the name of New Wales. The winter being passed, he again proceeded to the northward on discoveries, as high as the latitude 65 deg. north, when being stopped by the ice, he called that part Ne Plus Ultra, and returned to England.

HALL.
1612

XVI. Hall, after he left the service of Denmark, returned to England, and was fitted out at Kingston upon Hull for the Greenland seas. He came to an anchor in Cocking Sound, in 65 deg. 20 min. north latitude, on the west coast of Greenland, on the 19th of July, and went from thence to Rommel's Fiord, on the same coast, in 67 deg. north, where he was killed by one of the natives, in revenge, as it was supposed, for carrying off his brother, when in the Danish service, in 1606. On account of the death of Hall, the ships were obliged to leave the coast and return to England, after having made a search for minerals without success.

In

XVII. In 1614, the company fitted out Captain Gibbons in the Discovery, the same ship in which Button had made the preceding voyage; but upon his approach to Hudson's Straits, he was surrounded by ice, and the current drifted him to the southward, so that he was obliged to put into a bay on the Labrador coast, in 58 deg. 30 min. north latitude, which was called Gibbons' Hole. In this bay he was detained so long, that he was obliged to give over all thoughts of any further attempt, and return to England.

GIBBONS.
1614

XVIII. Although the adventurers experienced a very considerable loss by the death of their patron, Prince Henry, yet they continued their exertions. For notwithstanding the preceding voyage had been the means of ascertaining that the sea, into which Hudson had sailed, was bounded to the westward by a tract of land between the latitudes of 57 and 65 deg. north, and consequently their hopes of finding a passage in that place were diminished; yet, in 1615, they fitted out the same ship, and the command of her was given to Robert Bylot, William Baffin being appointed to act as pilot or mate, both of whom were experienced navigators, and had been with Button in the preceding voyage.

BYLOT and BAF-
FIN.
1615

They sailed the 18th of April, and anchored in a harbour on the western side of Resolution Island the 27th of May, where they found the tide to flow five fathoms, and the variation to be 24 deg. west; continuing their course to the westward, along the
the

BYLOT and BAF.
FIN.
1613

the north shore of Hudson's Straits, on the 1st of July they discovered a groupe of islands, which, from the violence of the tide, were called the Mill Islands. Standing on to the north west, they saw land again in latitude 65 deg. north, which was called Cape Comfort; as they proceeded, they shoaled their water in latitude 65 deg. 25 min. north, and as the land trended to the north east, they lost all hopes of making a passage; it was therefore resolved to give up any further attempt. After having determined that the flood came from the south east, and the ebb from the northward, they repassed the straits, and returned home.

BYLOT and BAF.
FIN.
1616

XIX. Notwithstanding, like their predecessors, they had failed in attaining their object in this voyage, yet the company were so well satisfied with their conduct, and formed such expectation from the report they made, that they resolved to fit them out again the next year; and they accordingly sailed so early as the 26th March. It appears, that they did not make the land, until they got so high within Davis' Straits as the latitude 65 deg. 20 min. north, and did not come to an anchor until they entered a sound in latitude 70 deg. 20 min. north, on that part of the west coast of Greenland which had been before named by Davis the London Coast; in this sound they found the tide to rise only eight or nine feet. They reached Sanderson's Hope, the most northern extreme of former discoveries, so early as the 30th of May, which lies in latitude 72 deg. 20 min. north; about eight leagues further to the northward they fell in with some islands,

to

to which, on account of seeing none but female inhabitants, they gave the name of Womens Isles.

BYLOT and BAF.
FIN.
1616

Very soon after their departure from these islands, they found their further progress impeded by the ice, which obliged them to come to an anchor in a sound, in latitude 73 deg. 45 min. north, where they traded with the natives for seal skins and the horns of the sea unicorn, whence it obtained the name of Horn Sound. In a few days the ice began to disperse, when they got under weigh; but as the wind was contrary, they could not follow the direction of the coast, but were obliged to stand to the westward, 20 leagues beyond Womens Isles, where the sea was open and clear from ice. In latitude 76 deg. 35 min. north, they named a projecting part of the land Cape Digges, twelve leagues from which was a considerable inlet, where the current was so strong, as to drive the ship from the two anchors by which she rode. This inlet, which extends itself into the land in several directions, obtained the name of Wolstenholm's Sound.

In latitude 77 deg. 30 min. and 78 deg. they saw two inlets, which they called Smith's and Whale Sound; between these two inlets is an island, which they named Hakluyt's Island. In Smith's Sound the variation was found to be 56 deg. west; standing along the land to the south west, they saw two more large inlets, to which they gave the names of Jones and Lancaster's Sounds. To the southward of Lancaster's Sound they were prevented seeing

BYLOT and BAF-
FIN.
1616

ing the land on account of the ice, until they arrived in latitude 71 deg. 16 min. north, when it was seen extending in a south easterly direction, as far as the latitude 70 deg. 30 min. But they could not follow its direction for the same reason, being obliged to steer to the eastward, and did not get sight of it again until the 24th of July, when they were in latitude 68 deg. 41 min. north. This proved to be the north part of Davis' Cumberland Isles, they having passed the strait between them and James' Island (*m*), which has been since called Baffin's Straits. After refreshing themselves on the west coast of Greenland, they finished this important voyage, arriving safe, the 30th of August, in Dover Road. This appears to have been the last expedition fitted out under the patronage of this company.

HAWKSBRIDGE

XX. Until the voyages of Fox and James, in the year 1631, there is no account of any other attempt being made from England, excepting a very imperfect relation, by Fox, of a Captain Hawksbridge, who went as far as the latitude 65 deg. north, into the inlet, where Bylot failed in his first voyage; but in what year, or at whose expence, we are not informed.

XXI. The

(*m*) From want of accuracy in the early navigators, great confusion prevails in the geography of this part of the world. Every one has followed his own idea. Most geographers have laid down a groupe of islands between Greenland and the Cumberland Islands of Davis. Among them the name of D' Anville bears a respectable authority. But in the new map of the world, by Arrowsmith, these islands are omitted, and the Straits of Davis and Baffin have no distinction, Cape Bedford, which made the south cape of James' Islands, being transferred to the north east part of the Cumberland Isles; at the same time, a point due east from this Cape, and in the middle of Davis' Straits, is laid down, as having been seen by Lieutenant Charleson, in the sloop Jackall, in 1787.

XXI. The Court of Denmark being induced to profit by the discoveries of Hudson, fitted out two ships in the year 1619, under the command of Jens Munck. They sailed from Elfsineur on the 16th of May, and on the 20th of June saw Cape Farewell. Munck gave the name of *Mare Christianum* to the northern parts of Hudson's Bay, and the southern parts he called *Mare Novum*, and, at the same time, he gave the name of *Fretum Christiani* to Hudson's Straits. They met with so much ice in the Welcome, in the latitude of 63 deg. 20 min. north, that they were obliged to put into an harbour, where they wintered. From the great mortality among the crew during the winter, Munck was obliged to leave one of his ships in this harbour, to which he gave his own name. After a variety of distresses, he arrived safe, with only two sailors, in Copenhagen, without making any further discoveries.

MUNCK
1619

XXII. Lucas Fox, in conjunction with one Sterne, who followed the profession of making globes, had collected all the information they were able, of the progress which had been made in the preceding voyages, from whence they drew several reasons for the probable existence of a passage in those places where the navigators had been disappointed in tracing the coast. Their observations were considered, to be so well founded, that Henry Briggs, the mathematician, Sir John Brooke, Sir John Wolstenholme, and Sir James Roe, were induced to form a fund to fit out another expedition; and the King, upon their representa-

LUCAS FOX
1631

F

tions,

LUCAS FOX
1631

tions, aided them with a ship of 80 tons, called the Charles, which was victualled for 18 months.

Thus equipped, Fox set sail from Deptford on the 5th of May, 1631, and saw land the 30th of June, in latitude 62 deg. 25 min. north; on the 15th of July he made Salisbury and Nottingham Islands, but was obliged to go to the southward of them, on account of the ice, the ebb bringing it from the north west. He made Cape Pembroke, and steered to the southward into Hudson's Bay, and then changed his course to the westward, anchoring at what is now called Marble Island. Proceeding up the sound, between the land of Carey Swan's Nest and the western coast, which is called the Welcome, he found the tide to encrease in height, the farther he went. On the 9th of August, he returned to the southward, and anchored, for a few days, in Nelson River.

Hitherto he had done little more than follow the track of Button. From this place he steered to the eastward, discovering the land as far as Cape Henrietta Maria, in latitude 55 deg. 10 min. north, without having seen any prospect of an opening to the westward. He was now induced to make a fresh attempt beyond Nottingham Island, where he had been prevented before from getting to the northward by the ice. On the 7th of September, he saw Carey Swan's Nest, and reached the Mill Isles by the 15th. Three days after, he discovered two capes, bearing
north

north and south from each other, which he named King Charles' Promontory and Cape Maria; the first is in latitude 64 deg. 46 min. and the latter in 65 deg. 13 min. On the 20th, he fell in with another head land, some leagues within the arctic circle, which obtained the name of Lord Weston's Portland; a little further to the northward of this last cape, the land stretches away to the south east. The winter approaching fast, he was obliged to desist from continuing his course, on which account he called this part Fox's Farthest. He left Hudson's Straits the 5th of October, and arrived in the Downs on the 31st of the same month.

LUCAS FOX
1631

Fox was of opinion, from the observations which he made during this voyage, that there was a great prospect of a passage by the Welcome, on account of the tide rising higher there than in any other part of the bay.

XXIII. While Fox was fitting out for this voyage, the merchants of Bristol dispatched Thomas James, to follow the same track. James was a very accurate observer, and his journal, which was published in 1633, contains a variety of judicious remarks, from which Mr. Boyle confesses he took many passages with regard to the state of the atmosphere; but as it contains little more than an enumeration of the hardships which the crew suffered during the winter, they were obliged to pass in the bottom of the bay, which, from this commander's name, has been

JAMES.
1631

JAMES.
1631

called James' Bay, I shall proceed without taking any further notice of it (n).

The civil war which broke out in England, soon after the return of Fox and James, prevented any further attempts being made; and as a charter was granted, as early after the restoration as 1669, to Prince Rupert and others, giving them an exclusive right to the country and trade, a total check was given to the spirit of discovery, which, from the enterprising genius of the nation, would no doubt have revived, as soon as it had recovered from the anarchy and confusion, into which it had been thrown by the late revolution in its government.

Z. GILLAM
1668

XXIV. This charter was granted, in consequence of their having undertaken, at their own costs and charges, to discover a passage to the south seas. Through the interest of Prince Rupert, the *Nonfuch* ketch, one of the King's vessels, was fitted out for this purpose, and Captain Zachary Gillam was appointed to command the expedition.

All the accounts of this voyage agree that he reached the latitude of 75 deg. north, in search of a passage, after which he went into the bay where James had wintered in 1631. Here he likewise

(n) It should be observed, that James, not only in his passage out, but likewise on his return home, made an attempt, to enter the inlet where Fox did, to the northward of the Mill Islands, and effected a passage as far as Bylot and Hawksbridge had done before.

wife wintered in a river, which, from the patron of the expedition, was named Prince Rupert's River. At this place he built a fort, in which he left a garrison on his return to England in 1669.

I have never been able to obtain, any original account of this voyage to determine, what course Gillam followed while he was in search of a passage, so as to reach so high a latitude in Baffin's Bay. But in a publication of 1711, containing an account of Narbrough's voyage to the coast of Chili, and Wood's attempt to discover a passage by the north east, the editor has given a very short account, by way of introduction, of voyages to the northward. Treating of Gillam's voyage, he says, " In the year 1667, " this design was renewed, and undertaken by several of the nobility of England, and merchants of London, who equipped and sent out Zachariah Gillam commander, in the Nonfuch ketch. *He passed THROUGH Hudson's Straits, THEN into Baffin's Bay, to the latitude of 75 deg. north;* from thence southerly to the latitude of 51 deg. or thereabouts, in a river now called " Prince Rupert's River." And the editor of Churchill's voyages, in the introductory discourse, observes, that in 1667, " Zachariah Gillam, in the Nonfuch ketch, passed *through* Hudson's Straits, " and *then* into Baffin's Bay, to 75 deg. of latitude, and thence " southerly into 51 degrees."

If these accounts be accurately copied from the original journal

Z. GILLAM.
1668

nal of Gillam, and of which I see no reason to entertain any doubt, the circumstance of his having passed *through* Hudson's Straits, before he went into Baffin's Bay, is well worth attending to; for if this were really the fact, he must have followed the same track which Fox did, during the latter part of his voyage in 1631; and, after passing beyond the extent of Fox's course, have gone as high as Lancaster Sound, which is supposed to be between 74 and 75 degrees north latitude.

Now, I believe, it has been a generally received opinion among geographers, that no person went so far to the northward in that place as Fox did, and they have had their doubts, whether that inlet had any communication with Baffin's Bay. The first discoverers of Baffin's Bay have been likewise supposed, to be the only persons who have ever navigated those seas. But, if these accounts be true, Gillam not only went into the bay, but he likewise found a passage into it where Bylot and Baffin failed in their first voyage, in the year 1615.

KNIGHT & BAR-
LOW.
1719

XXV. The company being thus established, instead of prosecuting the object of their charter, their whole attention was taken up in carrying on a trade with the natives for furs; as it does not appear, that they ever attempted any thing like a voyage for that purpose for full 50 years, when they sent a ship and sloop under the command of Knight and Barlow, in 1719, who never returned, and no account was ever heard of their fate.

XXVI. Some

XXVI. Some vague reports of the Indians gave room to hope that they had escaped from shipwreck, and were still alive somewhere about the latitude of 63 deg. north. In consequence of these reports, Captain Scroggs sailed in a sloop from Churchill River, in 1722. In latitude 62 deg. 48 min. he found, drifting in the sea, part of a foremast, which was the only mark left of their miserable fate (o). After this, Scroggs proceeded for the Welcome, and came to an anchor in Pistol Bay.

SCROGGS.
1792

The northern Indians, who came down to the company's factories to trade, had given an account of a copper mine, easy to be worked, which was to be found upon the coast. Two of these Indians, Scroggs had on board with him. They had drawn a line of the coast from Churchill to this part, which, as far as they had proceeded, corresponded with its real situation. While they continued at anchor here, one of the Indians wished to be dismissed; as, according to his account, he was within a few days journey of his place of abode, informing them, at the same time, that the ship could not go any further on account of a ridge of rocks, which would obstruct her passage, and over which a boat could only find a sufficient depth of water. On this account they returned to Churchill.

XXVII. To

(o) It is now pretty well ascertained, that Knight and Barlow were shipwrecked on Marble Island, as the remains of the wreck have been seen; and Mr. Duncan, who was lately employed by the company on survey, informs me, that he not only saw part of the wreck, but such appearances of hewn timber as led him to suppose, some of them must have survived the loss of the ships, and afterwards attempted to build a vessel, to convey them from the island.

BEHRING and
Tschirikoff
1741

XXVII. To civilize his subjects, and give respectability to Russia as a maritime power, was a design worthy the mind of the immortal Peter. But the prejudices of the nation would soon have destroyed the fabric he left, if his successors had not fortunately possessed a greatness of mind equal to the emulation of his glory. In 1738, an expedition was set on foot under the command of Captain Behring, which determined, that the two continents of Asia and America approximated each other within a few leagues. And, in 1741, the same commander, in conjunction with Tschirikoff, visited the coast of America between the latitudes of 56 and 59 deg. north. Under the direction of the present Empress, different commanders have successively discovered the Aleutian, Andreanoff and Fox Islands, to the whole of which, Russian geographers have, very properly, given the name of the Catherina Archipelago (*p*).

MIDDLETON
1741

XXVIII. The probability of a passage, through the Welcome, was strongly contended for by Mr. Arthur Dobbs (*q*). In 1741, he pushed his representations to government so strenuously, and formed

(*p*) One of the staple commodities of Russia being furs, they have formed settlements for collecting them, even on the very inhospitable shores of Spitzbergen. The settlers are relieved once in two years; and, according to Mons. Pages, they even sent some ships of war into those seas a few years since, so mindful is the policy of Russia, as he properly remarks, to her affairs, as, amidst the concerns of such an extensive empire, not to neglect, a few miserable hunters scattered in those frozen regions of the north.

(*q*) Mr. Dobbs' attention was drawn to this object so early as the year 1733, and by repeatedly soliciting the company, he at length *obliged* them, to get rid of his importunities,
(for

formed so powerful a party in his favour, that Sir Charles Wager, who then presided at the Admiralty, was induced to fit out two vessels, one of which was the *Furnace*, a bomb ketch, and the other a pink, called the *Discovery*; the command of the first was given to a Captain Middleton, and the other to one Moore. Middleton, who was the principal officer, had for several years sailed as commander of a ship in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was acknowledged by every body to have been a man of very great abilities, and the most proper person, from his local knowledge, to conduct a voyage of that nature. Mr. Dobbs had received considerable information from Middleton, and it was at his instance that Sir Charles Wager appointed him to command the expedition.

MIDDLETON
1741.

The arguments of Mr. Dobbs were founded on the voyages of Button and Fox, the only persons who had navigated the *Welcome*. Both of them had observed the tides to rise higher in proportion as they proceeded to the northward, whence they were of opinion, that there was great prospect of an opening by pursuing this route. He had likewise been at great pains to collect information from Indians trading to the factories, which led him to conclude, that, some distance to the northward, there was an

G

opening

(for it does not appear on the face of their transactions, in this or any other expedition, that it was ever seriously their intention to effect a discovery) to send two small vessels in the year 1737. They went no further than 62 deg. 30 min. north latitude, where they saw the islands about Corbet's and Rankin's Inlets, and found the tide to rise 12 feet, flowing from the north. This is all that has ever transpired from this voyage.

MIDDLETON
1741

opening communicating with a collection of water which had a direction considerably to the southward and west of Churchill, affording strong probability of a passage (r).

The ships were fitted out with provisions and stores for two seasons, and they were, if necessary, to winter at Churchill. On the 1st of July, 1742, they sailed from Churchill to the northward, and, according to his instructions, he steered for Marble Island, where he arrived so early as the 4th. On the 15th following, a point of land was seen, which was called Cape Dobbs. To the north west of this cape, he discovered a very considerable inlet, which he explored with great perseverance, until the water was found to be brackish. After some weeks spent in this inlet, which was called Wager River, he steered along the coast to the north east, round a cape, which he called Cape Hope, as the land from thence trended away to the westward; but it was found to terminate in a large bay, in which no opening could be found, excepting a strait, in the latitude 67 deg. north, about 18 or 20 leagues in length, running to the south east, which divided the land of Carey Swan's Nest from the north main, by which means it was discovered, that the eastern part of the Welcome was an island.

(r) Indian information has been laughed at: but I am among those who do not wish wholly to reject it. It is from want of sufficient knowledge of their language in *us*, and not from a deficiency in geographical knowledge in *them*, that mistakes have been made. Time and further investigation of the country have shewn that these Indians were correct. A considerable lake, called the Shethany, which communicates with the sea at Seal River, appears to be the collection of water they understood him to be enquiring after.

island. The bay was accordingly called Repulse Bay. The flood tide came through the strait from the south east, and the ice was so firmly fixed from side to side, that there was no probability of succeeding in any attempt to pass it.

MIDDLETON
1741

It appears that Middleton, as well as Scroggs, had carried with him two northern Indians, to direct him in his route to the copper mine. These Indians were well acquainted with the coast as far as Marble Island; but as they went beyond that to the northward, it became very clear, that they were totally ignorant of their situation, and repeatedly pressed to return to Marble Island, which seemed to be the extent of their knowledge in that direction. Middleton returned to England in the latter end of the year.

XXIX. The dispute which arose in consequence of the event of this voyage, between Mr. Dobbs and Captain Middleton, is very well known. The arguments adduced by the former were so generally credited, that the sum of ten thousand pounds, in shares of an hundred pounds each, was subscribed in order to fit out an expedition, which might finally determine the question. Moore, who commanded one of the vessels which went with Middleton, was appointed to command the Dobbs galley, and the other vessel, which was called the California, was given to one Smith. Their conduct was subject to the controul of a council, appointed by the subscribers for that purpose.

MOORE and
SMITH
1746

MOORE and
SMITH
1746

The two ships failed on the 20th of May, 1746. In this expedition, it was likewise thought necessary, that they should winter at Port Nelson. The 24th of June, 1747, they departed on their voyage. Near Marble Island an inlet was seen by the persons detached in the boats, which was called Bowden's by some, after the mate of the California, and by others it was named the Chesterfield Inlet. They afterwards went into Wager River, and failed up as far as they could with safety with the ships, and then dispatched the boats to explore the source of it. The boats proceeded until it was found to terminate in a fresh water lake, into which, at high water, the tide flowed from the inlet; two small rivers, from a lake to the south west, falling into it at the west end. The object of the voyage being completed, the ships returned without making any further attempts, and arrived in England in the autumn of the same year.

The fate of poor Middleton is to be lamented. The event of this voyage evinced the malevolence of his enemies, and satisfied the world of the integrity of his conduct, and accuracy of his observations; but being neglected by the Admiralty, and deprived of his employ under the company, borne down by the weight of his misfortunes, he retired to a village near Gainsborough, where he died in distress some few years since. Anxious to support a character which he was conscious had been unjustly attacked, he expended the little property he had saved, and was at length obliged to dispose of Sir Godfrey Copley's medal, which

which had been presented to him by the Royal Society, for a paper they thought worthy of that mark of their approbation.

The company continued to enjoy the profits arising from their trade for a long time, without entertaining any thoughts of making discoveries. The Indians brought their furs down to the different settlements, so that they were totally unacquainted with the interior parts of the country, excepting by the information they could receive from them during their annual visits; but the French having extended their researches by the upper lakes of Canada, and having likewise established posts there, for the purpose of more effectually cultivating their trade with the northern nations of Indians, they were obliged, in order to counterbalance the advantages thus gained by their rivals, to form settlements further back, and factors were accordingly sent to receive those furs for which the Indians had begun to find a nearer market.

XXX. After an interval of twenty years, they were, however, roused by the general opinion, that the opening into Chesterfield Inlet afforded considerable prospect of a passage. A sloop was accordingly dispatched, under the command of Captain Christopher, for determining this point, in the year 1761.

CHRISTOPHER
and NORTON
1761—1762

On his return, he reported, that he had navigated the inlet for more than 150 miles, in a westerly direction, until he found the water nearly fresh, but that he had not seen the end of it. To preclude

CHRISTOPHER
and NORTON
1761—1762

preclude every opportunity of cavil, he was sent again the next year, in company with Mr. Norton, in a tender, with orders to trace it to its source, if practicable. The event of this voyage was, that they found a fresh water lake emptied itself into the inlet, which lake was surveyed by the tender, and found to be twenty-four leagues in length, and six or seven in breadth. They perceived themselves to be landlocked on every point of the compass, except to the westward: here they saw the mouth of a river.

They likewise surveyed this river in their boat, until they were stopped by four falls, one over the other; over which they could not find water enough to go any further. A party was landed, who, following its banks above the falls for some miles, observed several ridges of rocks extending from side to side, which were in most places dry.

HEARNE
1771

XXXI. The specimens of pure copper ore, which the Indians repeatedly brought to the factory at Churchill, left no room to doubt of the veracity of the reports, which had been received for several years, concerning a mine of that metal. They agreed in all their separate accounts, that it was situated near the surface of the ground, at the mouth of a river which emptied itself into the frozen ocean. To ascertain the exact situation of this river was an object of considerable importance, as it was supposed that it would remove every idea of a passage to the southward of the spot

spot at which it should be found to fall into the sea. To settle this point, Mr. Hearne, one of the company's servants, was dispatched by land in 1771, with some of the northern Indians, to survey and determine its situation.

HEARNE
1771

He built canoes in the computed latitude and longitude of 62 deg. 57 min. north, and 18 deg. west from Churchill. Having traversed a chain of lakes, on the 21st of June, he arrived at an Indian settlement, called Congecathawhachaga, the latitude of which he determined, by astronomical observations, to be in 68 deg. 46 min. north, and, by computation, 24 deg. 2 min. west from the meridian of Churchill. This place is near a lake which discharges its waters by a river, according to the Indian accounts, in an easterly direction, and communicates with the sea. Mr. Hearne does not appear to have taken any other observation to settle his track, than that which has been before mentioned. So that the exact latitude, in which the mouth of the copper mine river is situated, is rather uncertain; but he thinks himself, that, from the accuracy of his remarks in his rate of travelling, he cannot err more than 20 miles, when he fixes it in 72 deg. north latitude (s). The longitude must, however, be left to future observers

(s) Mr. Hearne's quadrant was damaged by some accident, so that there appears to be an inaccuracy in his observations. This defect has been examined into, and it is supposed that the latitudes should be reduced about a degree further south. This journal never was made public during his life; but I am informed, the manuscript is purchased by Mr. Wales, who intends committing it to the press. It will be a curious recital of almost unparalleled hardships in the frozen regions he visited.

HEARNE
1741

servers, as his westing, through the whole of his journey, does not, in any instance, appear to be regulated, further than by computation. Having finished the object of his journey, he returned by a route which carried him in a direction to the westward of his former track. The most remarkable circumstance in his return is, that he passed a lake, named by him the Arathapescow, which, from the accounts of the Indians, is one of the largest in the continent, being 400 miles, or more, from east to west (*t*).

HECETA
1775

XXXII. The expeditions of the Russians, from the coast of Kamchatka, excited the jealousy of the Court of Spain. The whole coast being defenceless, they established posts at Monterey and St. Francisco, in the year 1769, and, in the year 1775, some ships were sent out by the Viceroy of Mexico, under the command of Don Bruno Heceta. From some circumstances, it appears, that an expedition had been fitted out in the preceding year; but we have no account of it. Heceta sailed, from the port of Saint Blas, on the 16th of March. On the 9th of June, they put into an harbour in 41 deg. 7 min. north latitude, which they named de la Trinidad. They sailed again from this harbour, and, after attempting to land on an island, which they called de Dolores, they made the land on the 17th of August, in 57 deg. 2 min. north latitude, which they called Cabo del Enganno,

(*t*) This lake has been partly surveyed by the Canadian traders from Montreal, since Mr. Hearne's expedition, and called the Great Slave Lake. Another collection of water to the southward, which discharges itself into this lake, is called Arabaska, or, as Mr. Hearne understood the Indians, Arathapescow.

ganno, and the mountain of Elias, which Behring had discovered before, was called de St. Hyacintho. Near this cape they entered two harbours, called Guadaloupe and de Remedios, taking possession of the country in the name of the King of Spain. On their return they wooded and watered in a harbour called Bukarelli, in 55 deg. 17 min. north latitude. They were much afflicted by the scurvy in their voyage home, but got safe back to St. Blas on the 16th of November, in the same year.

HECETA
1775

XXXIII. Captain Cook, with an ardour and perseverance hardly ever equalled, had already determined the nonexistence of a southern continent. As a reward for his services, he was appointed, soon after his return from this voyage, one of the Captains of Greenwich hospital. But his Majesty, stimulated by the zeal for discovery which will make his name famed in the annals of navigation, called him from his retirement once more, to accept a command, and endeavour to terminate the dispute about the existence of a north-west passage.

COOK
1776

In this expedition, he was to follow a track hitherto unattempted by any English navigator, and notwithstanding he failed in the attempt, yet, in following his orders, he shewed a zeal to determine the question, equal to that which so remarkably distinguished him in his former voyage. These orders appear to have been framed, from a comparison of the discoveries of Middleton and Moore with the journals of Christopher and

H

Hearne.

COOK
1776

Hearne. Moore had fully settled, that Wager Inlet, which Middleton discovered, was impassable; and Christopher, in 1762, had ascertained the extent of the Chesterfield Inlet, the mouth of which was seen by Moore, in 1746. Hence it was concluded, that there could be no prospect of success to the southward of the latitude 67 deg. north. This opinion seemed to be further confirmed by Hearne's journey to the copper mine river, particularly as the Russians, under Behring, had seen, what was supposed to be the western coast of the continent, in so high a latitude as 65 deg. north.

In consequence of this received opinion, Cook was directed to fall in with the coast of New Albion, and explore it to the northward; but not to spend so much time in examining it, as to prevent him from being in the latitude of 65 deg. north by July. From this latitude he was to endeavour, to penetrate by any opening he might find, which, trending to the eastward, might give him any prospect of a passage into Baffin's Bay. Conforming strictly to the letter of his instructions, he made no attempts to examine those inlets, which bear the names of Defuca and Defonte, but made the best of his way to the place of his destination.

The event of this voyage is well known; but before I dismiss the subject, I cannot help remarking how unfortunate it is to the cause of geography, that the prejudices of this celebrated navigator

gator should so far accord with the opinion which operated in the construction of his orders. That these prejudices influenced his conduct, when near those latitudes, in some degree, is very apparent from an inspection of the narrative at those places.

COOK
1776

The subsequent voyages which have been made to the north west coast of America, in pursuit of commercial advantages, by means of the fur trade to the ports of China, have, in a degree, removed the doubts, which were so generally entertained, of what have been called the pretended discoveries of the Spanish navigators. The perseverance of Captain Cook would most undoubtedly have determined the question, and left but little for his successors to explore, had not his own opinion coincided with that of his superiors.

XXXIV. In order more effectually to insure the success of Cook's expedition, Lieutenant Pickersgill was sent out in a small brig, to survey the coast of Baffin's Bay. This voyage fell short of its object. The abilities of the commander gave great room to hope for success, but his irregularities were a bar to the full completion of its object. The latitude of 68 deg. 30 min. north was the full extent of his course, and Baffin's Bay, to the present time, remains unknown, except from the imperfect information of its first discoverers (*u*).

PICKERSGILL.
1776

H 2

The

(*u*) Vide Observations on Gillam's Voyage, page 38.

YOUNG.
1777

XXXV. The Lords of the Admiralty, after Pickersgill was dismissed, appointed Lieutenant Young to the same command, yet he returned with even less success than his predecessor. To use the expression of the editor of Cook's Voyage, "Young was more calculated to share in the glories of a victory, than to make discoveries in the frozen regions of the north(x)."

DUNCAN.
1790

XXXV. The vessels sent by the English merchants to the north west coast of America, after the return of Captain Cook, having discovered several considerable inlets on that part of the coast which he did not examine, the Admiralty intended to attempt a passage through Hudson's Bay. For this purpose Mr. Duncan, a master in the navy, who had commanded a small sloop of 59 tons burthen, in the fur trade to China, in the years 1787 and 1788, was considered to be a proper person to conduct the voyage. His having explored the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, as far as the commercial concerns of his owners would permit him, added to his nautical observations made on the spot, were a sufficient recommendation. The Admiralty appears to have referred their intentions to the Hudson's Bay Company, as Mr. Duncan was employed as an officer in their service. Matters being

(x) How far the Danes have navigated this bay is uncertain. Within the 70 years they have been settled on the west coast of Greenland, they have gradually extended their settlements as far to the northward as the Womens Isles of Baffin, where they have now a factory called Opernwick. Their trade to this part of the world is confined to a company, who extend their factories according as they find it necessary, for the convenience of the fisheries, without paying any attention to the further discovery of the coast.

ing arranged, he went out in one of their ships, in 1790, to take the command of a country sloop. On his arrival, the sloop was condemned as unfit to go the voyage. He offered, notwithstanding, to go in her, thinking that the defects, for which she was condemned, would not render her unsafe for the purpose intended; but in this he was disappointed, as none of the seamen could be persuaded to accompany him. Unable to be of any service by remaining in the country, he returned in one of the annual ships in the autumn of the same year. In the next season he was fitted from London, in a brig belonging to the company, called the Beaver; in a manner, as he expressed himself in a conversation I had with him on the subject, which does credit to the liberality of the directors; as he was provided with every thing that could conduce to the safety of the vessel, or ensure the health of his people. He was directed, by his orders, to explore Corbet's Inlet, the only place to the southward of Marble Island which had not been explored; whence he was to proceed to the Chesterfield, and, by means of his boats, or by land, he was to survey the river which falls into the lake, at the head of it; which Norton had before examined, a few miles to the westward, in 1768, and found impassable. After having accomplished this object, he was to go to the northward. He arrived at Marble Island, from England, time enough to examine thoroughly the first object of his instructions, Corbet's Inlet, as he soon found, what there was every reason to expect, that it terminated in a bay, which was the mouth of a river, navigable only for canoes at any great distance from

DUNCAN.
1790

from the sea. After wintering at Churchill, he proceeded to execute the second part of his instructions, the examination of the Chesterfield Inlet. When he arrived there, he thought proper to leave the brig in Lake's Harbour, as a place of safety, while he went in the boat to Norton's Falls. From these falls he followed the course of the river, by land, until he found it come from the northward, in which direction he traced it near 30 miles, when, being convinced that it must be the drain of some lake in that line, and not an outlet from the Dobaunt, he returned, being satisfied that his following it further could not lead to any useful discovery. Had its course been from the westward, he would not have left it, he says, until he had seen its source.

This voyage of Duncan was the last made to discover a passage between the two oceans.

Having now concluded my plan, of giving an abridgement of the several attempts, in the order they were undertaken, I shall endeavour, in the succeeding pages, to produce some arguments, which, I believe, will tend to place this long contested question in a different light from that in which it has been generally considered. To make the subject more clear, it will be necessary to divide it into two parts; the first of which will treat of that supposed passage, called the Straits of Anian; and the other will be confined to the discoveries, said to be made by Defonte, in 1640.

A MEMOIR

A
M E M O I R
ON THE
STRAITS OF ANIAN.

M. F. M. O. P. R.

STATISTICS OF AFRICA

M E M O I R
ON THE
STRAITS OF ANIAN,

CONTAINING

Introduction—Cortes discovers California—Coronado discovers Teguayo and Quivira—Voyage of Alarçon—Observations on the Gulph of California—Voyages of Cabrillo and Juan De Fuca—Observations on his Discoveries—Straits and Sea which bear his name, recognized in 1787—Communicate with the Sea of Quivira—Remarks on the Padoucas, or Welch Indians—Voyages made in consequence of De Fuca's Discoveries—Vizcaino—Ship St. Augustin—Ferrer de Maldonado—Vizcaino's second Voyage—Martin Aguilar—Observations on Maldonado's Voyage—Discoveries of the Canadian Traders—Visit the frozen Ocean—Observations on the Japanese Map of Kæmpfer—Cook's Discoveries—Observations on his Report—Lancaster's Account of a North West Passage—Voyages made in consequence of his Information—His Knowledge of Maldonado's Voyage—Inquiry into the origin of the Name of Anian—Not used before the 17th Century—Observations on the Navigation of the Northern Seas—Conclusion.

THE existence of a passage, which, from its situation in respect to Europe, is called the north west passage, has been the subject

INTRODUCTION

I

of

INTRODUCTION

of public discussion in this country for more than two centuries. A communication between the two seas had always been considered worthy the attention of the legislature; but as soon as it was determined, on the return of Moore and Smith, in the year 1746, that there was no prospect of a passage through the Welcome, all idea of any further attempts was given up, on account of the high latitude in which any other opening must be situated. At that time this country had no trade which could be benefited by it, excepting that which is under the charter of the East India company, and it was thought that the navigation of Hudson's Straits alone would be too hazardous for such ships as they employ; but circumstances are altered in the present day, when we are extending our commerce beyond what could have been conceived at any former period, and have, at a very considerable expence, established ourselves on the north west coast of the American continent. A passage, even in the higher latitudes, would now be desirable, and might, in some future time, amply compensate for the expence of exploring it. This communication between the two oceans has been denominated the Straits of Anian (*a*). To examine what probability there is of its being passable, and upon what circumstances the general opinion of its existence is founded, will be the subject of the following Memoir.

In

(*a*) It will be necessary for me to remark, that, according to the regular method of treating the subject, I should, in this place, make some enquiry into the origin of the name of Anian. It is my intention to take notice of it; but, for reasons which will then be obvious, I propose deferring it until I come to treat of Lancaster's account of a north west passage.

INTRODUCTION
In the Historical Abridgement of Discoveries in the North of America, I deferred giving any account of the Spanish voyages, as they were mostly made on the west coast of America, and were more particularly connected with the subject which will be treated of in the following pages. It will therefore be proper, in this place, to take notice of them in the order in which they were severally undertaken.

After the empire of Mexico was compleatly subdued by the Spaniards, Cortes the Conqueror was appointed Admiral of the South Sea, while the government of the province was given to Don Antonio de Mendoza with the title of Viceroy. The hopes of enriching themselves by the discovery of new countries, excited them both to turn their attention towards this object. Cortes, as admiral of the seas, confined himself to the fitting out a fleet for this purpose, while Mendoza, as viceroy of the province, not only sent an army by land, but a small squadron likewise, to further their researches along the coast.

These expeditions were set on foot in consequence of the return of Mark de Niza, a priest, who, accompanied by a black servant, had travelled by land, as far as 38 or 39 deg. north latitude, where he reported he had discovered a civilized people in a place called Cibola, who dwelt in fortified towns, and were possessed of great quantities of gold (*b*).

I 2

Cortes

(*b*) Herrera, Dec. 6, lib. 7.

California discovered by Cortes

1539

Cortes sent out three ships under the command of Francisco de Ulloa, and it is said that he embarked himself to give greater effect to the expedition. They went as high as 30 deg. north, discovering the east coast of California, whence the gulph between it and the main has obtained the name of the Sea of Cortes. Herrera says, that one of the ships was lost, and that Ulloa, proceeding on to the northward, was never heard of afterwards. The third ship left him, when they got as high as 30 deg. and returned to new Spain (c).

F.V. CORONADO

1540

The party which the viceroy sent by land, was under the command of Francisco Vasquez Coronado. The soldiers which composed this little army, were collected together at the sea port of Culiacan, about 200 leagues to the northward of Mexico. After proper arrangements were made for a co-operation with the squadron, which was fitted out at the same place, Coronado departed to the northward, some time in the year 1540.

Discovers Teguayo

After a variety of skirmishes with the natives, he arrived at a country in 37 deg. north latitude, which is still called Teguayo, where the cold was so extreme, that the horses and men passed over the river on the ice. After a siege of more than forty days, they took the capital town of the province, but not without very considerable loss; for the Indians being straitened for provisions, after destroying every thing that was valuable, sallied forth the town;

(c) Herrera, Dec. 6, lib. 7.

town; but, after a desperate resistance, were cut to pieces by the Spaniards.

From the province of Teguayo he is said to have gone as far as 40 deg. north latitude, to a country called Quivira, where, notwithstanding it was further to the northward than the place he had left, by three degrees, yet he found the air quite temperate; and, contrary to the manners of the inhabitants of Teguayo, who live in towns, the people of Quivira lead a wandering life, following the seasons, and roaming in search of the best pasturage for their cattle. They saw here vessels in the sea, which, to accord with the rage of that period, are reported to have been laden with merchandize from Cathay, and to have had gold and silver pelicans for their prows. Coronado returned to Mexico in the end of the year 1542, leaving behind some ecclesiastics, who were slain by the people of Quivira, excepting one, who made his escape, and got back safe to the Spanish territories. The viceroy expended six thousand ducats on this expedition; but it does not appear that any advantage ever resulted from it (d).

Discovers Quivira

The command of the squadron, which consisted of two ships, was given to Fernando Alarçon. He sailed from Culiacan at the same time Coronado's party set off by land, it being the intention of the viceroy that they should follow the direction of the coast,

F. ALARCON
1540

(d) Herrera, Dec. 6, lib. 9.

F. ALARCON
1540

coast, so that they might be able to give each other assistance, if necessary. Being arrived at the bottom of the Gulf of California, he found a large river, the current of which was so strong, that the ships could scarce stem it. Leaving the ships, he manned and armed two boats, with which he went up the river, calling it Buena Guia, a name which is now changed to Colorado, or North River. After a familiar intercourse with the natives, he understood, by his interpreter, that the banks of the river were inhabited by twenty-three nations, who spoke as many languages; and that the river sometimes overflowed its banks (*e*).

This is the substance of Ramusio's account of this expedition; but Herrera says, that Alarcon went as far north as 36 degrees, when, his ships being in bad condition, and his crew sickly, the coast moreover beginning to trend to the northward, in which case he must have removed still farther from the troops, who were even then at the distance of ten days march from him, he returned home.

Observations on
the Gulph of California.

Herrera's account of this voyage, when compared with the preceding journal of Coronado's expedition, gives great reason to suppose, that the sea extends as high as the latitude 40 deg. or more, north. In conformity to this opinion, it was for a long time generally supposed that California was an island, separated from the continent by the sea discovered by Cortes. But in the beginning

(*e*) Ramusio, Vol. 3, Ed 1613.

beginning of the present century, a narrative, written by Father Kino, a Jesuit, was published in the *Lettres Edifiantes*. By this it appears, that Ramusio's account is exact in respect to the river which Alarçon called Buen Guia, and which, he says, falls into the bottom of the Gulph of California; as this Father Kino, between the years 1698 and 1701, according to the map annexed to the narrative, discovered a passage by land to California, after passing this river, the mouth of which he found to be in about 32 degrees north latitude. To reconcile the difference between this account, and the description as above given from Herrera, we must suppose that Herrera must mean the same as Ramusio; that Alarçon went as far as 36 deg. north, where he found the course of the river, instead of the trending of the coast, carried him in a direction which would encrease his distance from the troops, if he proceeded any further. Indeed the two narratives cannot be reconciled in any other way (*f*).

Alarçon appears to have arrived at Mexico some time before the return of the troops; for Juan Rodriguez de Cabrillo was appointed to command another squadron, for the same purpose, in the year 1542. Cabrillo directed his course along the west coast of California, and although he did not proceed so far as his instructions

J. R. CABRILLO
1542

(*f*) Herrera's account seems, however, to be very clear, and if it be at all admitted, it makes directly against the Jesuit's account. Alarçon went, according to Herrera, Dec. 6, lib. 9, up this river 85 leagues, and then, hearing no news of Coronado, in search of whom he went, he sailed down again to his ships, and continued along the coast many days after, going four degrees farther than the ships sent by Cortes.

J. R. CABRILLO

1549

instructions directed him, on account of want of provisions and sickness among his crew, yet he saw a point of land in 42 deg. north latitude, which he named Cape Mendocino, in compliment to the viceroy (g).

JUAN DE FUCA

1592

The relation, which I am now going to enter upon, has made great noise in the world, and within a very few years I should have been laughed at, if I had attempted to consider it in any other light, than as an ingenious contrivance to deceive the world, and raise the expectations of persons concerned in promoting expeditions in search of a passage.

Juan de Fuca was a Greek, from the island of Cephalonia, and his real name was Apostolos Valerianos. He had been pilot to three ships which were sent out under the command of a Spaniard, by the viceroy of Mexico, to discover the Straits of Anian; but the voyage was frustrated by a mutiny among the crew. In the year 1592, the viceroy again fitted out a caravel and a pinnace with the same intent, and entrusted the sole command to De Fuca. In the latitudes 47 and 48 deg. north, he saw an inlet, through which he sailed into an extensive sea. He continued navigating this sea for the space of twenty days, during which time he landed in different places, and the people of the country were clothed in skins. The coast varied, sometimes stretching to the north-west, at others to the north-east, and in some places to the south

(g) Herrera, Dec. 7, lib. 5.

fouth-east. A number of islands were scattered in different parts, and the mouth of the inlet where he entered was 30 leagues wide. Supposing that he had passed into the northern ocean, and actually discovered the object of his expedition, he returned to Acapulco in the latter end of the same year. After waiting two years in expectation of a reward from the viceroy, De Fuca went to Spain, where he waited some considerable time, without meeting with any compensation for his discoveries, and it appears that his residence in Spain was under coercion; for when he left it, he set out by stealth, with an intention of returning to his own country. At Venice he gave an account of this voyage to one Dowlass, an English mariner, who gave the narrative to Mr. Michael Lock. De Fuca offered to command any expedition in the service of England, on consideration of being reimbursed a considerable sum which he said he had lost some years before, when in an Acapulco ship taken by Cavendish. This sum, which was 60,000 ducats, being so very considerable, his offer was not immediately accepted, and he appears to have died before sufficient arrangements could be made, to enter into any other agreement with him (*h*).

JUAN DE FUCA
1542

These discoveries were admitted into the maps of that period; but as there were several parts of his account which appeared to be fabulous, the whole became in process of time to be discredited, and most of the latter geographers have thought proper

Observations on
the discoveries of
J. De Fuca.

K

to

(*h*) Fox's N. W. Fox. Purchas Pilgrims, Book IV. part 3.

Straits of De Fuca
recognized in 1787

to reject it. That great navigator, Captain Cook, was too much led away by the current of general opinion, and De Fuca's veracity continued to be doubted so late as the year 1787, when the commanders of some English vessels, fitted out with a view to commercial advantages only, had the satisfaction of doing justice to his memory. They found these straits situated about a degree more to the northward than De Fuca reported them to be, and the entrance was found not much more than half the extent he represents; but there cannot be the least doubt of the inlet being the same, as they saw an island, with a remarkable pinnacle rock, off the point of land forming the south shore of the strait, exactly as it is described in the accounts of De Fuca's voyage. Having visited this coast without any intention of proceeding upon discoveries, this inlet was not examined beyond fifteen leagues within the entrance. At that distance a clear and extensive horizon was seen, as far as the eye could reach to the eastward. Their commercial concerns prevented them from making a more accurate examination; but at the same time an American vessel, in the same trade, followed their track, and the master of her reported, that he navigated eight degrees of latitude in a considerable sea, the full extent of which he could not determine (*i*). In confirmation of this, Mr. Duncan, who then commanded a small sloop at Nootka, says, that while he was in the entrance of the strait, he was fully convinced of some considerable extent of water beyond it, as, in one part, he found the

American ship discovers the sea of
De Fuca.

(*i*) Vide Mears' Voyages to the North West Coast of America.

the flood tide to come from the eastward. The extent of this sea can only be determined by future observations, and any opinion that may be formed, in the present day, must be founded upon conjecture; but there are certainly strong reasons to suppose, that it extends a considerable distance to the southward, as well as to the northward, communicating perhaps with the sea of Quivira.

Communicates
with the sea of
Quivira

The earlier transactions of the Spaniards in the western world have been recorded by a variety of historians, who have uniformly agreed, that the province of Quivira is situated to the north of New Mexico, and is bounded by a large extent of water to the westward (*k*).

To discover this sea, was an object much desired by the Court of France, during the whole time they were in possession of Louisiana. For this purpose, the missionaries, distributed along the banks of the Mississippi, were directed to gain all the information in their power from the natives of their different missions. It will not be digressing too much from the subject, to make some extracts from the publication which contains their reports.

It appears that the Sioux, Outaouacs, and several other nations, agree, that "some of the rivers, which have their source
" in the mountains at the head of the Mississippi, take a western
" course, and, after running through a country inhabited by men

K 2

who

(*k*) Vide Herrera,—Gomara,—De Laet.

MEMOIR ON THE

" who have beards, live in fortified towns, and are armed and
 " cloathed like Europeans, fall into the sea, or great lake, which
 " is full of large vessels very different from their canoes (*l*).

Father Marquette, in particular, a missionary among the Outaouacs, found out the source of a river, which, from its course, is called the River of the West, " at the mouth of which, the savages told him, they had seen four large vessels under sail(*m*)."

Father Charlevoix says, that a Miamis Squaw informed him, " she had been carried by a party of the Sioux to a village of " that nation, which bordered on the sea (*n*)."

And Father Hennepin was told by some of the Sioux who live to the westward, that, " from the mountains which form the " source of the Missouri, vessels might be seen sailing on the " sea (*o*)."

Monfieur Buache mentions a letter he received from the Sieur Dumont, who was employed by the French Court for more than twenty years, in surveying Louisiana. In this letter he informed him,

(*l*) Vide Relation de la Nouvelle France de l'an. 1632, 1641, 1666, &c.

(*m*) Ibidem, Relation de l' an. 1670.

(*n*) Vide Journal du Pere Charlevoix 1744, Lettre xxviii.

(*o*) Father Hennepin's Relation, 1698.

him, " that he had been guided in 1722 by a map, given to him
" by M. Bienville, commandant of New Orleans. This was made
" for the direction of the Spanish caravan from New Mexico to
" the Missouri, having been taken by some of the Missouri In-
" dians among the baggage of some Spaniards whom they made
" prisoners, and presented by them to the commandant at Fort
" Illinois. Upon this map was represented the coast of a sea,
" which they approached near to in their route (*p*)."

The Indians who come down to trade at the factories in Hud-
son's Bay, likewise concur in similar reports, of a large sea being
to the south-west, the coast of which is inhabited by people who
have beards, and who sail from one place to another in ships (*q*).

And in further confirmation, the Canadians who are em-
ployed in collecting furs on the northern lakes, have found stray
horses, which have been marked with Roman letters on the
haunches, and the Indians have bartered with them, weapons
apparently of European manufacture (*r*).

So many accounts received at various times, and from In-
dians who are so very distantly situated from each other, leave
us

(*p*) Buache *Considerations Géograph. et Phys.* Paris, 1753, p. 36.

(*q*) Ellis' *Voyage*, 8vo. 1748, p. 304.

(*r*) Umfreville's *present State of Hudson's Bay*, p. 178.

us no room to doubt of some foundation for their reports; but to account for the particular circumstances of men having beards, (which is contrary to the custom of all other Indian nations of America, who pluck them out) and of their navigating the sea with ships carrying sails, it has been supposed, that the Spaniards have settlements not far from the sources of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, or, at least, that they have traders sent from New Mexico, among the nations on the borders of the English settlements; but even before the Spaniards were in possession of New Mexico, or what they call their Mission of Santa Fe, we have similar accounts.

For independent of the information brought by Coronado and Alarçon, in 1540, which has been taken notice of before; when D'Espejo, in 1583, penetrated into the same country by another route, from Vera Cruz in the Gulph of Mexico, by means of the Rio Bravo, or North River, he found, that to the northward, beyond the mountains, was a nation of Indians, who were dressed somewhat after the European fashion, and who lived in towns on the borders of a great lake, or sea (s). Hence it is very clear, that, before the Spaniards settled to the northward of Old Mexico, there were nations who dwelt in towns, on the borders of a western sea, or lake, which they navigated in vessels larger than common canoes, dressing themselves in cloaths, which made them appear like Europeans, and defending themselves
against

(s) Laet. lib. 7. ch. 22, 23, 24.

against their invaders, in a manner unusual to what had been found among the nations through which they had passed before.

I shall here venture to offer an opinion, which may not meet the entire approbation of every one of my readers; but such advances have been made, of late years, in the science of geography, that we are daily led to examine, with strict attention, accounts which have been exploded for want of sufficient information. This has been the case with the history of Madoc, or Madog's voyage from Wales to America. It is well known that the Welch Chronicles make mention of his leaving that country, on account of some quarrel with his brothers, and on his return, he gave an account of a new country, which he had discovered across the western ocean, to form a settlement in which, he afterwards sailed with ten ships, but never returned^(t).

Remarks on the
Padoucas or Welch
Indians.

I shall not enter into any arguments, to defend this narrative against the objections which have been offered, on account of the polarity of the magnet not having been applied to the purposes of navigation in those days, without which it has been advanced, he could not have succeeded, either in returning to
Wales,

(t) This happened towards the end of the twelfth century, and is recorded in the poems of Meredydh ap Rhys, who flourished in the year 1470; of Gutwin Owen, in 1480; and Cynfrig ap Gronw, near the same period. These bards preceded the expedition of Columbus, and relate, or allude to, that of Madoc, as an event well known, and universally received, to have happened three hundred years before. Vide Jones's Musical Relics of the Welch Bards, p. 19. and Humfrey Lhuyd. Welch Chron. p. 228.

Wales, or finding the country on his return. I shall rest myself entirely upon the opinion which is now entertained of the authenticity of the account.

No traces of this colony were found for many years after settlements were made in America; but subsequent researches have brought to light a very numerous tribe, in a fertile country on the banks of the Upper Missouri, the people of which are white, and are a distinct species from the aborigines who surround them. They are likewise said to have written records of their descent, and many remains of European manners. To this nation the French have given the name of Padoucas. Persons versed in the Welch language say, that Madoc's followers would have been denominated Madogwys; now, when we consider that the French have always been famed for adapting names to their own vernacular idiom, and by that means rendering them very different from the original pronunciation, we may be led to conclude, that Padoucas is the same name, with the alteration of the initial letter, but to which they have given their own termination of *cas*, instead of the Welch *gwys*, (people) (*u*).

Father Charlevoix observes, from the information he received, "that the Padoucas, and their neighbours the Panis, are situated
very

(*u*) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. for 1790.

very near the coast of the western sea (x). That those coasts were formerly inhabited by other nations, we have two evidences to produce. In the first place, according to some of the missionaries, "the Illinois," before the French arrived in Louisiana, "were seated near the sea to the westward, from whence they were driven by their enemies (y)." And we are informed, in another place, by Charlevoix, "that not only the Illinois, but likewise the Miamis, came from the sea coast to the westward (z)."

Comparing these circumstances with the others, I shall venture to take it for granted, (without entering into any further arguments on their migrations from the eastern coast, where they must have landed, so far into the country,) that the Padoucas are descended from the people who went over with Madoc. Being situated so contiguous to the western sea, it is natural to suppose, that a people, accustomed to navigation, would turn their attention to the advantages of their situation; so that we can by these means, not only account for the men with beards, and horses marked with Roman letters, without having recourse to the supposition that the Spaniards have settlements further to the north-

L

ward

(x) Dictionnaire Géograph. de la Marteniere. Ed. 1741. at Word Missouri.

(y) Relation de la nov. France, l' an. 1670, 1671.

(z) Journal du Pere Charlevoix, 1744, Lettre xx.

MEMOIR ON THE

ward than is generally agreed upon in Europe (*a*); but likewise, allowing for the prejudices of the times, give some credit to the report of Coronado having seen large ships, loaded with merchandize, without supposing, with him and some later authors, that they were from China or Japan (*b*).

The jealousy of the Spaniards, and the great precautions which they took while the French were in possession of Louisiana, lest they should penetrate to the westward by means of the Missouri, gives great room to suppose, that they meant to conceal that part of the continent from the knowledge of other nations. They made several attempts to gain the command of the Missouri, which is reported to be navigable 1300 miles from its junction with the Mississippi. In one of these attempts, the map, which I have before taken notice of on the authority of Mons. Buache, fell into the hands of the Indians, who gave it to the commandant at Fort Illinois. What they were not able to effect by force, they gained by the policy of the family compact, and the Mississippi is now a barrier against the intrusions of their neighbours; but, perhaps, the rapid advances which the back settlers are making in the United States will soon transgress the boundary,

(*a*) This circumstance is worthy the attention of government; for the late convention with Spain confines the limits of our trade on the coast, to the northward of where the Spaniards are already settled. This is an indefinite term, and may give rise to a future question of right. As their northern settlement is at St. Francisco, in California, that should have been fixed as the extent of their boundary.

(*b*) Vide Memoire Delisle sur la Mer de l'Ouest.

dary, and what the French were unable or unwilling to do, the Americans will effect in the course of a short time, and by that means extend their empire to the other sea.

Before I conclude this account, I shall just take notice, that when De Fuca observes he had sailed into the north sea, we are not to suppose, as some authors have done, that thereby he meant the Atlantic, and intended to convey an idea that he had passed from the western to the eastern side of the continent. It is very clear that the frozen ocean to the northward of the continent of America, is the sea which he calls the north sea, whence we are led to conclude, that there must be a communication between them. This appears to be corroborated by modern observation, if the account can be depended upon, that Sir John Macpherson, when at the Cape of Good Hope, was informed by some Spaniards of an inlet in the latitude of 47 deg. 45 min. north, which was navigated in twenty-seven days, as far as the vicinity of Hudson's Bay.

The veil of mystery, which was thrown for a number of years over this account, being removed, we may presume that it could not long fail to draw the attention of the Spanish government; and we might even venture to risk an opinion, that the succeeding voyages of the Spaniards were made in consequence of this discovery, instead of having a reference entirely, as the Spanish historians would have us believe, to the expeditions of Drake and Cavendish.

Voyages made in
consequence of De
Fuca's discoveries

VIZCAINO.
1596

Within four years after the return of De Fuca a squadron was fitted out under Sebastian Vizcaino; but for want of provisions, and having lost seventeen of his men, he did not go more than 100 leagues to the northward of Mazatlan on the coast of New Spain.

Ship St. Augustin.
1595—1598

Cabrera Bueno, an Admiral in the Spanish service, published a folio volume on speculative and practical navigation, at Manilla, in the year 1734. In one of the chapters, containing "Directions from Cape Mendocino, towards the port of Acapulco, along-shore," speaking of the port of San Francisco, he says, "To the south south-west of this port are six or seven small Farellons, of different sizes, little more than a league in circuit; in coming from Cape Mendocino for this port, being six leagues of the point to south-east by south, you will make the Punta de los Reyes, and see the Farellons, which is a good mark to know it. Here the ship St. Augustin was lost in 1595, on discovery, and the cause of her loss was more in those on board than by stress of weather." This is the only account we have of this voyage.

MALDONADO
1598

A voyage is said to have been made in the year 1598. The only account we have of it is from a memoir read at a meeting of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, Nov. 13, 1790, by Mr. Buache, Geographer to the French King. The substance of this memoir is, that M. De Mendoza, a Captain in the Spanish navy, employed

employed to form a collection for the use of that service, having searched various archives, found an account of this voyage, which was made under the command of Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado. From an inspection of this journal it appears, that when he arrived in latitude 60 deg. north, and longitude 325 deg. east from Ferro, he steered to the westward, leaving Hudson's Bay to the south, and Baffin's Bay to the north, and in the latitude 65 deg. north, and longitude 297 deg. east from Ferro, (from which meridian the longitude is reckoned through the whole journal) he altered his course to the northward, sailing through, what he calls, the Straits of Labrador, until he found himself in latitude 76 deg. north, and longitude 278 deg. east, in the frozen ocean; he then held his course south-west, and passed through the strait which separates Asia from America. In latitude 60 deg. north, and longitude 235 east, he entered the south sea, naming the strait through which he passed Anian, but which Mr. Buache would have called Ferrer's Straits, in memory of its discoverer.

MALDONADO
1598

These three voyages appear to have been connected with each other, and to have had the same object in view, and it will not be presuming too much to suppose, that they were fitted out in the same year. The distance of time, and the inaccuracy of the historians in respect to the dates, give some support to this opinion; for notwithstanding Bueno says, that the St. Augustin was lost near Port San Francisco, in 1595, yet Mr. Dalrymple has given

given a copy of a chart of the west coast of California, from a Spanish manuscript, in his account of the settlements at San Diego and Monte Rey, where these rocks are laid down, with this remark, "*Farellones donde se perdio el navio St. Augustin,*" "1598." Here is a difference of three years in the two accounts; but as the date in Bueno is in figures, and as Mr. Dalrymple remarks, that his publication is in many places very obscure, I shall venture to place the most dependence upon the chart, and fix it in 1598, the same year in which Maldonado failed from Europe.

From these premises I shall venture to draw the conclusion, that, in consequence of De Fuca's report, the Court of Madrid was determined to search for the passage, which his voyage had rendered probable, by three different tracks. While Vizcaino proceeded through the Gulph of California, and the commander of the ship St. Augustin, whose name is not handed down to us, surveyed the western coast of the continent, Maldonado was dispatched from Europe, to seek for an opening on the eastern side, where considerable inlets had been seen in the then recent expeditions of Frobisher and Davis.

VIZCAINO
1602

The Count of Monte Rey, viceroy of Mexico, by order of the Court of Spain, dispatched Vizcaino on a second voyage, with orders to search for a safe port on the west coast of California, where the ships from Manilla, which, in their return to New Spain,

Spain, usually made Cape Mendocino, might either find shelter from the strong northerly winds, or refuge from an enemy. For this purpose, he sailed on the 2d of May, 1602, from Acapulco, with three ships and a pinnace, and coasted within sight of the shore as high as Cape Mendocino. During the voyage they discovered the ports of San Diego, in 32 deg. 30 min. and Monte Rey, in 36 deg. 40 min. north latitude (c). Cape Mendocino was the extent of Vizcaino's voyage; as from sickness among his crew he was obliged to return. He dispatched, however, the pinnace under Martin Aguilar, who saw the cape called Cape Blanco, in 43 deg. north latitude, near to which, it is said, he discovered a considerable opening, which has been retained in some charts under the name of Aguilar.

VIZCAINO
1602

Aguilar discovers
an Opening near
Cape Blanco

The latest maps leave an opening near Cape Blanco, and the map which illustrates the journal of the Spanish settlements at San Diego and Monte Rey, places Rio de los Reyes in 43 deg. the situation of Aguilar's opening. From the observations of the English vessels in the fur trade in those parts, it is highly probable that there are several openings to the southward of De Fuca's Straits, as the whole of the coast appears to be broken
land,

(c) These discoveries of Vizcaino were never taken possession of until the years 1769 and 1770; when the Court of Spain having received information of the repeated attempts of the Russians upon the north west coast of America, the viceroy of New Spain established forts both at San Diego and Monte Rey, with an intention to guard that part of the empire from insult. The journals of these establishments were lately published by Mr. Dalrymple, from a manuscript communicated by the late historian Dr. Robertson.

land, with very extensive sounds, forming, in all probability, an archipelago from De Fuca's Straits to Cape Blanco, similar to what has been found to the northward, communicating with an inland sea.

One Thomas Peche, in 1676, is said to have sailed 120 leagues within the Straits of Anian, intending to return to England that way; but the season being far advanced, and the wind continuing to the northward, he was obliged to desist, and return by Cape Horn, in the year 1677. As there are no accounts of any astronomical observations, we cannot determine in what latitude he entered these straits. However, it appears, that he found the current, along the coast of California, to set north-east from Cape Mendocino more than twenty leagues within the channel. From this observation, if any opinion be formed, it will lead us to suppose, that Aguilar's Inlet about Cape Blanco is the place where he entered; and in those charts which make California to be an island, the coast between these two capes is laid down in that direction.

Several authors have given accounts of a passage having been effected between the two seas; no reliance, however, is to be placed upon their informations; but for the sake of taking some notice of every thing which has come to my knowledge relating to the subject, I shall just observe, that in 1568, it is said, Salvatierra, a Spaniard, landing in Ireland, in his passage home from
the

the West Indies, informed the Lord Lieutenant, that a passage had been found, and actually passed, about 12 years before, by one Andreas Urdanietta, and that he had seen a map on which the passage was delineated.

Bergeron says, that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth reports of some Portugeze having sailed between the two seas were prevalent; in particular, that an Admiral named Garcias Loaria, in the reign of Charles the Fifth, passed from the Moluccas by the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, and it appears, that Button, in his memorial to King James, recited some other such instances (*d*). And Charlevoix relates, that a ship from Acapulco, being driven by a storm out of her course, about the year 1609, passed into the Atlantic: but the King of Spain ordered the pilot's journals to be burnt, for fear other nations should get intelligence of her route (*e*).

All these accounts are mere vague assertions, without any internal evidence to warrant their authenticity. This is not the case, however, with the voyage of Maldonado, which we have noticed on the authority of Monsr. Buache, as the latitudes and longitudes are marked in several places; and the character of Mr. Buache is so well known, that whatever information we re-

Observations on
F. de Maldonado's
voyage.

M

ceive

(*d*) Pere Bergeron, *Traité des Navigat.* p. 129.

(*e*) Pere Charlevoix *les Faîtes Chron. du Nouveau Monde.* 1744.

ceive from the authority of a man so highly distinguished as a geographer, certainly deserves attention; but it is impossible to say, how far he might have been imposed upon, and the world may be led to suspend their opinion until they receive some further evidence, particularly when it is recollected, that M. de la Lande, a man equally high in the estimation of the literary world, was so far deceived as to publish, in the *Journal des Sçavans* for November, 1773, a letter on the same subject, which stated, that Baron von Uhlefeld, in a Danish ship of war, had passed from Hudson's Bay, and returned by the straits of Le Maire, between the years 1769 and 1773. The respectability of the communication, however, carries with it such weight, that when I first saw the account, I could not help examining it with the later discoveries, which are more fully authenticated. I found such a general concurrence of circumstances in its favour, as to leave very little room in my own mind to doubt of its credibility.

If we attend to the track which appears to have been pursued by this navigator, we shall find, that he sailed through Hudson's Straits, between the latitudes 60 and 65 degrees north, after which he passed through the opening between the Cumberland Isles of Davis and the land of Point Comfort, which he named the Straits of Labrador, and in latitude 76 deg. north, and longitude 278 deg. east from Ferro, or 260 deg. east from Greenwich, found himself in the frozen ocean.

Now

Now the only evidence we have of the existence of that considerable extent of sea called Baffin's Bay, is from the journal of its discoverer (*f*). The chart which accompanied his journal is lost, and the maps we have of that part of America have been framed from his relation, in which the latitudes may nearly approach to the truth, but the longitudes must certainly be indeterminate. The latitude in which Maldonado entered the frozen ocean, is nearly the same in which Lancaster's Sound is placed in the maps of the Bay, and the longitudes are so nearly corresponding, as to leave us little room to doubt of its being the same inlet. This inlet is said by Baffin to be of very considerable extent, and from the situation of the coast stretches away to the westward; but he takes no further notice of it, than that such an inlet does exist in nearly that latitude and longitude. I shall, as I proceed, have further occasion to speak of this inlet seen by Baffin, and shall then endeavour to prove, that the name of Lancaster, which was given to it, was in consequence of the information he brought to Europe, on his return from India, of a voyage having been made from Europe to the Japanese seas by this route.

Thus far we are able to follow his course with some degree of precision; as from Baffin's account we have some little authority, from whence we may fix a foundation for our arguments; but after entering the frozen ocean, we have less to guide us, and are

M 2

necessarily

(*f*) Vide Observations on Gillam's Voyage, page 38.

necessarily led to have recourse to conjecture. Aware of the inaccuracies which often attend arguments so slightly founded, I shall endeavour to be careful, and not permit myself to be carried beyond the bounds of reasonable probability.

After leaving Baffin's Bay, in latitude 76 deg. north, and longitude 260 deg. east from Greenwich, he steered a south-west course the whole way, until he entered the south sea, in latitude 60 deg. north. The coast of the American continent, bordering upon the frozen ocean, must consequently continue in a similar direction. To ascertain this, we have but two authorities to produce upon which we can with any degree of certainty rely; for between Icy Cape to the west, the extent of Cook's discoveries, and Baffin's Bay to the east, there are only two places where the frozen ocean has been seen. The sea has been discovered where the copper mine river discharges itself, in the latitude of 71 degrees north, and which, as I have before observed, was supposed by Mr. Hearne, in 1772, to be nearly in the longitude of 240 deg. east. The difference of latitude and longitude between the mouth of this river, and the place where he left Baffin's Bay, will give a south-west course, and it may be inferred that the intermediate lands follow in some degree that direction.

Discoveries of the
Canadian Traders.

It has been remarked before, that the French, when in possession of Canada, pushed their trade so far to the northward, by
means

means of the interior lakes, as to oblige the Hudson's Bay Company to establish inland posts, to preserve their connections with the Indians. Since England has been in possession of that province, and more particularly since the peace in 1783, the Canadian fur trade has been carried on to an astonishing extent, by means of a company formed at Montreal for that purpose. The Persons employed by this company have traversed the interior part of the continent, in search of furs, as far to the northward as the latitude 62 north, and have fixed factories upon that very extensive lake, which was crossed by Mr. Hearne in his return to Churchill from the copper mine river, in the year 1772, and called by him the Arathapescow Lake, but which they have named the Great Slave Lake.

The factories were established for the sake of carrying on a more extensive trade with the natives. The persons who were left to winter at these posts were informed by the Indians, that a river, which had its source at the north-west end of the lake, discharged itself into the sea, which was at no great distance, to the northward. To ascertain the truth of this report, was considered to be an object worthy their attention; for this purpose, a Mr. M'Kenzie was dispatched in the summer of the year 1789, with some of the natives, in several canoes, to gain all the information in his power. By permission of Simon M'Tavish, Esq; his journal was submitted to the inspection of Mr. Arrowsmith, who has delineated his track on the map of the world which he has lately published.

Visit the Frozen
Ocean in latitude
69 deg. 14 min.

published. It appears that he found a free navigation from the lake to the sea, the river being several fathoms deep, except at its mouth, where it is divided into several branches, with only five feet of water in the channels. Two rapids were formed in two different parts of the river, from the current being confined between the rocks; but these were found to be navigable. There were several small islands near the mouths of the river, and to the largest of them he gave the name of Whale Island, from the great numbers found there. Upon this island he erected a post to record his discovery, with the latitude, which was found to be 69 deg. 14 min. north, his own name, the number of men and canoes, and the date, 12th July, 1789, marked upon it. He supposes the island to be about 225 deg. east from the meridian of Greenwich. He appears to be fully satisfied that it has a communication with the sea, as he observed the water to rise and fall by the shore several inches.

Observations on
the Japanese Map
of Kämpfer.

While the geographers of Europe were warmly engaged in a dispute about the vicinity of the two continents, some contending that they were separated by a large extent of sea, and others asserting that they were joined to each other, the Chinese and Japanese appear to have been well acquainted with the northern parts of both countries. It is well known that these nations formerly extended their voyages to a greater distance than they are accustomed to at present, and it has been said that the mariners compass was known in China long before it was used in Europe,
some

some persons contending that it was brought from thence by Marco Polo, or some other traveller; and Mons. Guignes, in a memoir read before the Academy of Belle Lettres and Inscriptions at Paris, upon the navigation of the Chinese in America, supposes that they even visited the eastern shores of the Pacific Ocean so early as the fifth or sixth century, near the latitude 53 deg. north, to which they gave the name of Fou-Sang.

The Japanese were acquainted with the peninsula of Kamtchatka, under the name of Oku-Jeso, long before it was known to the Russians; and Kämpfer, in his history of Japan, says, "that a jonk, dispatched from one of the eastern ports about the year 1680, discovered a large country between 40 and 50 deg. north latitude, which he supposes to be America, where they found a safe harbour, in which they passed the winter, and returned the next year to Japan (g)."

During his residence in that country, Kämpfer likewise obtained a map of the world, which being afterwards presented to Sir Hans Sloane, is now deposited with the rest of his collection in the British Museum. Japan is placed in the centre of the map, which is oval, and it appears to have been constructed from the joint knowledge of the Chinese and Japanese geographers, assisted, perhaps, by the European missionaries; as the names are written partly in one, and partly in the other language.

(g) Kämpfer's History of Japan, Vol. I. p. 59.

guage. Its date has been generally fixed somewhere about the conclusion of the 16th century, Mons. Buache supposing it to have been laid down after one made by Father Ricci, for the Court of Pekin, in the year 1585 (*h*).

According to this map, the north-west part of the American continent extends from Icy Cape, seen by Cook, as high as 82 deg. north (*i*), between which and the land forming the north-eastern part of Baffin's Bay, the sea makes a large gulph, which extends as far south as 68 deg. 30 min. north. Mr. M'Kenzie having ascertained the existence of the sea at the mouth of his river, is a circumstance which stamps a credit upon this map, and gives us much reason to pay it greater attention. This large gulph is again divided into two inlets, one of which goes into 65 deg. and the other as far as 62 deg. 30 min. north latitude. As Mr. M'Kenzie's own observations confirm the Japanese geography of this part, in respect to the large gulph, so the information he received from the Indians, during his journey, gives great credit to the two inlets; as about the latitude 66 deg. north, he was informed, that the sea, or great lake, was at no great distance both to the east and west of the river. Through the westernmost inlet, which extends into 62 deg. 30 min. north latitude, I suppose Maldonado to have passed.

Having

(*h*) Buache's *Confideration Géograph. et Ph.* p. 47.

Quere. Does not this stamp some credit upon the relation of David Melguer having sailed to 84 deg. north, and then passed between Greenland and Spitzbergen? Vide p. 14.

Having succeeded thus far in tracing the coast in a south-west direction, between Baffin's Bay and the copper mine river, from the authentic testimony of Mr. Hearne's journal, and having likewise produced very considerable authority, by means of the Japanese map, corroborated by Mr. M'Kenzie's observation and information, that it follows the same direction as far as the latitude 62 deg. 30 min. north, there only remain two degrees and an half of latitude to complete the connection between the two seas, and to add full authenticity to the voyage of the Spanish navigator. This short distance must be totally left to conjecture; but I hope to bring several arguments, deduced from such concurring circumstances, as will carry with them a very considerable degree of probability, in support of it.

Maldonado says, that after having passed the frozen ocean, he sailed through a strait, which he named the Straits of Anian, into the Pacific Ocean. This part of the track is not corroborated by the Japanese geographers, as the inlet, which we have before noticed upon their authority, terminates, according to their map, in 62 deg. 30 min. north; but Captain Cook, among his discoveries on the north-west coast of America, visited a sound, which was named Prince William's Sound, the entrance to which is in 60 degrees north latitude, extending more than a degree and an half to the northward. This opening is exactly in the latitude, and nearly in the same longitude, as the western part of the Straits of Anian, where Maldonado is said to have completed his passage.

Observations on
Cook's account of
Prince William's
Sound.

N

In

In another place I have just observed, how unfortunate it is for the cause of geography, that Captain Cook should have suffered himself to be so much prejudiced, against the accounts of inlets having been seen in these latitudes, as not to deviate from his immediate course, to prove or disprove their existence. During the time he was in this sound, it was more particularly apparent. There was an opening observed, extending considerably to the northward of the place where the ships were anchored. In order to examine this opening, one of the boats was dispatched under the command of Captain Gore, who was then the first Lieutenant of the Resolution. On his return, he reported, that he had seen an inlet in the direction of north-east, through which he thought there was a probability of a passage; but Captain Roberts, who was then one of the mates, and who was sent in the boat to take the bearings of the lands, differed from the Lieutenant, as he supposed he had seen its termination.

Being anxious to arrive at the place of his destination, he declined further researches to reconcile this difference of opinion. The flood coming from the westward, is one of the reasons which he gives for not proceeding up the sound, which, although he does not allow it to be a positive sign of there being no passage, yet he remarks, is a strong argument against it. Sailing up the English Channel as far as the Isle of Wight in search of a passage, and finding the flood still coming from the westward, would equally make against any opening between
Dover.

STRAITS OF ANIAN.

91

Dover and Calais. Arguments drawn from the tides have heretofore been made use of both for and against a passage; but have been generally exploded since the dispute between Middleton and Dobbs; I am therefore surprized that this able navigator should have had recourse to them.

Thus the short distance between the northernmost part of Prince William's Sound and the latitude 62 deg. 30 min. north, which is not much more than 100 miles, is the only part of the coast, to ascertain the line of which we have no authority; yet this is the very spot where Maldonado found the strait, which he called the Straits of Anian.

I must now appeal to the candour of my readers, and beg their indulgence to advance some arguments, which, being founded upon conjecture, want that support the journals of Hearne and the Canadian traders, compared with the Japanese map, have afforded me in the preceding pages, in order to prove, that the Straits of Anian, through which he sailed from the frozen ocean into the south seas, are situated in the latitude where one of the Japanese inlets appears to terminate. At the same time, I shall make some observations in support of an opinion, that the several attempts made by this country in search of a north-west passage, from 1598, the date of his voyage, until the Hudson's Bay Company was founded by charter, were set on foot in consequence of some information received of his success. In

Lancaster's Account of a North-west Passage.

order to do this, I must advert to the account of Lancaster's second voyage to the East Indies.

It is well known, that the ship in which he returned being likely to founder near the Cape, he directed the commander of the vessel which was in company, to proceed home with his dispatches, the purport of which was, after assuring his owners that every thing should be done to save the ship, "that the passage to the East Indies was in the *north-west* of America, in latitude 62 deg. 30 min. north." By great perseverance, and unremitted endeavours, he kept the ship above water, and arrived safe in England. What reasons he gave for supposing the passage to be in that latitude have not been handed down to us; but it has been conjectured, that some Portugeze sailing along the coast of Japan, went a considerable distance to the north-east, from whence he was led to conclude, that Lumley's Inlet, which had been seen by Davis in his last voyage, afforded a prospect of communication between the two oceans. It is very certain that Lumley's Inlet is in 62 deg. 30 min. north; but notwithstanding it happens to be in the same latitude in which he says the passage is, yet its situation does not correspond with his account of its being in the *north-west* of America (i).

That

(i) The inlets which were afterwards seen on the west coast of Hudson's Bay, being in the same latitude, afforded ample room for speculation, until they were determined to be nothing more than outlets from lakes in the interior part of the country.

That Lancaster founded his opinion upon some information he had received in the East Indies, is very obvious; and if I be able to point out, that the navigators who were sent in search of a passage after his return followed the track, which we have been endeavouring to illustrate, as far as circumstances would permit, in order to effect the object of their voyage, it will not perhaps be stretching the bounds of probability for me to suppose, that he had heard of Maldonado's arrival in those seas, and received some account of his voyage.

Voyages made from his Knowledge of Maldonado's Success.

To place this idea in a clearer light, and to bring this subject before the reader in one view, it will be necessary to make a few short observations on the several voyages, in the order in which they were performed.

FROBISHER only pointed out the probability of a passage, from the deep inlets which he discovered on the coast to the westward of Greenland.

DAVIS, who followed the same track, being disappointed in accomplishing his object in the openings which he found near the same place, endeavoured to effect it more to the northward in the open sea to the west of Greenland.

WEYMOUTH, in all probability, followed the steps of his predecessors. It has however been asserted, that he was sent out
in

in consequence of the account brought by Lancaster; but if this be admitted, and at the same time it be allowed that his voyage was made in 1602, we shall be guilty of an anachronism, which cannot be easily removed, as Lancaster did not return to Europe before the end of 1603. If it should be argued, that he sent home the information before he returned himself, it is not likely that, in those days, he should have had any opportunity of conveying dispatches, excepting by some of the ships of his own squadron. Now his journal of this voyage, which is published, only makes mention of the return of one ship, which was on the 9th of November, 1602, some months after Weymouth had arrived in England from his expedition.

Considering these circumstances I am clearly of opinion, that Weymouth's, as well as the preceding expeditions of Davis and Frobisher, was under the direction of the united companies of Turkey and Russia merchants; and that all the succeeding attempts were under the direction of the new chartered company trading to the East Indies. Now, as they had formerly been so repeatedly defeated, it is not likely that they would, in the very infancy of their trade, have run the risque of so many expensive equipments, if they had not been well assured of success; and it will appear probable, by the following observations, that they had only one object in view, which was to explore the opening where Maldonado passed from Hudson's Straits into Baffin's Bay, forming a part of what he calls the Straits of Labrador.

To

To ensure success to this undertaking, it was necessary to have a person to command who had been accustomed to those seas. The Danes, about that time engaged in searching after their ancient settlements in Greenland, had employed the most eminent of our northern navigators for that purpose. But it is one of the characteristics of an English seamen, that he leaves his country with regret. Necessity alone obliges him to enter into the service of foreigners, and the pleasure with which he returns, when an opportunity offers, is equal to the regret with which he left it. As Weymouth, who had commanded the last ships on that service, was then engaged in a voyage to Virginia, Knight, returning from Denmark, was employed: the same abilities which obtained him a command with the Danes, recommended him to the East India Directors.

KNIGHT was accordingly sent out as commander of their first attempt, and that so early after the establishment of the company as 1606, which was within three years after Lancaster returned from the East Indies. The misfortunes attending this voyage, from the ice driving him so far to the southward, in one instance, and from his being killed by the natives, in the other, totally prevented his instructions from being carried into execution.

HUDSON, in the second attempt, discovering a spacious opening to the southward, was naturally led to trace its direction; but

MEMOIR ON THE

but his unhappy fate also prevented him from following his instructions, so as to give us any idea of what was their purport.

BUTTON, commander of the third, was, without the least doubt, directed to prosecute the unfinished discoveries of his predecessor, as the company were naturally led to suppose, that a sea, so very extensive as that in which Hudson had wintered, afforded them strong hopes of being able to accomplish the object of their equipment by following its direction.

HALL was fitted out in the same year as Button; but it is very clear that it was by some company which had no connection with Button's employers; as he was fitted out at Hull, and the object of his voyage was merely commercial in search of minerals and seal skins.

GIBBONS, the successor and relation of Button, who commanded the fourth equipment, met with the same misfortunes Knight did in the first attempt, being drifted by the ice out of his course.

From the accidental circumstances which occurred in the prosecution of these expeditions, we are deprived of any evidence to prove, what was the object of their equipment; for notwithstanding we have some extracts from their journals, yet we have no records of what directions were given to the different commanders.

manders. The track followed by the persons who commanded the succeeding voyages will, however, tend to clear up this point, and the intention of the company be more evident. We shall have reason to suppose, that the former instructions were the same, and that they were severally founded upon the report made by Lancaster, as I have before contended.

BAFFIN.—If we compare Baffin's account of his first voyage with that of Maldonado, he appears to have followed the same course, and to have gone as far as 65 deg. 25 min. north, in the same straits which the Spanish navigator called the Straits of Labrador. In the next, notwithstanding he followed a different course, yet in all probability he had the same purpose in view; for Davis having sailed as far as latitude 72 deg. 20 min. north, to the eastward of Cumberland Isles, and found an open sea, it was likely that the object of the voyage would be obtained in an easier way by prosecuting his course, instead of following the narrow channels, where they had heretofore directed their researches. This idea is in some measure confirmed by the name of Sir James Lancaster, which was given to one of the sounds discovered during this voyage, situated nearly in the same place where Maldonado must have passed from Baffin's Bay into the frozen ocean.

HAWKSBRIDGE, the account of whose voyage is very imperfect, failed however in the same opening as far as 65 deg. north.

O

The

MEMOIR ON THE

The difficulties attending the navigation of seas in such high latitudes, supposing a passage practicable, appears to have checked the hopes of the company, and Hawksbridge's expedition was most likely the last they fitted out; but if we examine the journals of the three succeeding voyages, we shall find that their principal object was the same, viz. to find a passage between the Cumberland Isles and the main.

FOX and JAMES, before they proceeded into Hudson's Bay, attempted to get to the northward of Carey Swan's Nest; but each of them were prevented by the ice. On their return, both of them made a second attempt, Fox even penetrating, notwithstanding the lateness of the season, within the arctic circle.

GILLAM, when he was sent by the society which afterwards obtained the charter for the Hudson's Bay Company, went as far as 75 deg. north, and if the observations which I have made on his voyage be admitted (*k*), it is very apparent that his instructions were similar to those of his predecessors; as he not only went as high as Lancaster's Sound, but even sailed into Baffin's Bay, by the same inlet which Maldonado had before named the Straits of Labrador (*l*).

The

(*k*) Vide Historical Abridgement of Discoveries, page 38.

(*l*) There is one circumstance in Torquemada's account of Vizcaino's second voyage, which may lead us to suppose, that he was sent out in consequence of Maldonado's discovery.

He

The few voyages which have been made since that period have been confined to the Welcome, and the existence of the passage in question seems not only to be doubted, but the original cause of the several attempts to pass it appears to be totally forgotten. This has happened in consequence of the orders given by the Hudson's Bay Directors, that none of their ships should go round the north end of Mansel's Island, for fear of their being hemmed in with the ice, which was strictly obeyed, even on the homeward bound passage, so late as 1735. And according to Middleton's account, "All the north bay between the north end of Mansells, Nottingham, Mill Isles, Seahorse Point, and the North Main, are the places last clear of ice (*m*)."

How far policy might have guided the Directors, when these orders were first framed, the reader will judge for himself. If Lancaster's account were formed, as I have supposed, on Mal-

O 2

donado's

He says, that a short time before the death of Philip the Second a Dutch ship sailed by the coast of Newfoundland, and passed into the south sea. Philip, on his death-bed, recommended it to his son Philip the Third to explore this discovery; for which purpose he dispatched Vizcaino, in 1602. Now this account is different from what is generally reported of his voyage, (vide page 78); as, instead of having been sent to search for a safe port on the coast of California, he was evidently dispatched in consequence of some recent discovery.—Torquemada, Monarq. Ind. Lib. v. chap. 45, edit. 1615.

(*m*) Vide Middleton's Reply, p. 58.—In direct contradiction to this account, I have been informed by Mr. Duncan, that, in his passage out in the Beaver brig, in 1791, when he was as high as Cape Charles, on the 11th of August, he found the ice wedged in between the southern islands and the main, while the sea to the northward was quite free; for which reason he regretted, that he could not take the advantage of so favourable a circumstance, as he was obliged, by his orders, to proceed into the Bay.

MEMOIR ON THE

donado's voyage, they were in possession of the knowledge that this inlet had been passed, and communicated with Baffin's Bay, which, by means of Lancaster's Sound, afforded a passage to the Pacific Ocean.

Now it is a well known fact, that the company, until within a few years, were very much averse to voyages, which might lead to the discovery of a passage; and as the inlet in question had been successively navigated before their charter was granted, by Bylot, Hawksbridge, Fox and James, beyond the 65th degree of north latitude, and as Gillam, immediately preceding their establishment, had probably passed by the same opening into Baffin's Bay, it is very natural to suppose, that they would order those persons who were under their immediate controul, not to navigate a place likely to afford a prospect of making a discovery, which by its consequences might endanger their very existence as a corporate body.

Inquiry into the
origin of the name
of Anian.

I shall now proceed to inquire into the origin of the name of Anian, and endeavour to ascertain the time when it first began to be made use of. M. Buache, in one part of the work which we have so often alluded to, endeavours to support an idea, that that the sea separating Asia from America, is the strait which preceding geographers had some cognizance of under this name. Notwithstanding, with due deference to his opinion, I venture to differ from him; yet as his observations are made with the strictest

est

est accuracy, and as he has recited various authorities for the different situations in which these straits have been placed in former maps; I shall give a brief account of them in chronological order, for the sake of perspicuity, referring the reader to the original, which I have quoted in the note below; as his memoir, for want of being translated, is not perhaps sufficiently known in this country (*n*).

In 1508, he says, that a map intended to illustrate an edition of Ptolemy, printed at Rome, which was in the library of the Sorbonne, representing the early discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese in America, makes the north-east of Asia to join with the north-west parts of America.

In

(*n*) *Buache's Considerations Géographiques et Physiques*, page 16—20. Il y a plus de 180 ans que les meilleurs géographes de ce temps ont commencé à mettre un détroit entre l'Asie & l'Amérique, auquel ils donnoient le nom d'*Anian*, dont l'entrée méridionale étoit à 180 ou 190 degré de longitude, & qui s'étendoit depuis le 56 de latitude jusqu'au de-la du 62. On marquoit à son entrée vers l'est un *Cap Fortune*, jusqu'où l'on désignoit une longue côte qui venoit du Cap S. Lucas de la Californie. J'ai exprimé cette côte dans ma II. carte, conformément à celles de 1570, d'Ortelius, &c. d'après une ancienne carte marine Hollandoise qui paroît faite avec soin,* & qui a été imprimée en 8 feuilles vers 1600. L'attention qu'on fit ensuite surtout à la navigation de François Drack (qui aborda en 1579, vers le 40 degré de latitude de la Californie, & qui monta au nord jusques vers le 45, d'où les glaces l'obligerent de descendre au sud, pour gagner les Moluques) fit retrancher la partie la plus sud de la longue côte en question, dont il semble néanmoins qu'on auroit dû conserver une idée plus au nord. En 1625, Purchas fit connoître un travail géographique que l'on avoit fait quelques années auparavant en Angleterre, où l'on croyoit que la mer du Japon venoit au nord de la Californie, alors réputée île, & communiquoit par le nord-est avec la Baye d'Hudson.

Divers

* Voici le titre de cette carte : *Americæ Tabula nova multis locis tam ex terrestri peregrinatione, quàm recentiori navigatione, ab exploratissimis naucleris, & multò quàm antea exactior edita.*

MEMOIR ON THE

In 1520, according to the publication of one Scotto, a Genoese, printed at Paris in 1619, the Portuguese visited the west coast of America, as high as 60 deg. north latitude, and 180 deg. east longitude from Paris.

He remarks, that it was more than 180 years before the publication of his memoir, which was presented to the academy in 1752, since the strait was placed between Asia and America, the south

Divers Ecrivains célèbres † cherchèrent ensuite les fondemens du Détroit d'Anian ; & leurs efforts n'ayant pu rien produire, ce détroit devint fort incertain, & peu à peu il disparut des meilleures cartes, quoique les sçavans convinssent qu'il devoit y avoir un détroit au nord de la mer du sud ; ce que l'on conjecturoit des violents courans qu'on éprouve entre le Mexique & la Californie, de certains poissons que l'on rencontre ordinairement près des détroits, & en particulier de quelques Baleines que l'on a trouvé au nord de la Mer du Sud avec des harpons Hollandois & François qu'elles avoient reçu au Spitzberg.

Cependant, avant qu'on en vint jusqu'à retrancher entièrement le Détroit d'Anian, retranchement qui faisoit perdre toute idée du tableau des anciennes connoissances, ce détroit fut transporté dans la carte originale de Texeira, ‡ du 180 degré de longitude où il étoit auparavant,

† Laet, dans la préface de l'histoire des Indes Occidentales ; Hornius, dans ses origin. Americ. lib. III, cap 9. Varenus, lib. I. cap. 12, prop. 7. &c. Diction. Géographiq. de la Martiniere, au mot *Anian*.

‡ Cette carte que Texeira fit à Lisbonne en 1649, & que l'on donnoit manuscrite aux navigateurs Portugais étoit plus étendue en longitude d'environ 40 degrés, que celle qu'a publié en 1664. Thevenot, dans son Recueil de voyages curieux, & sur laquelle il paroît qu'on avoit corrigé celle de Texeira, y ajoutant surtout la découverte de Ieso faite par les Hollandois en 1643. Il y a au dépôt des cartes & plans de la marine, une carte en Velin manuscrite de la première espece. Thevenot en publiant la sienne, disoit qu'on y apprenoit, “ qu'il n'y avoit “ point de Détroit d'Anian, & qu'elle auroit pu sauver aux Hollandois, si elle avoit paru à la “ fin du siècle précédent, plusieurs tonnes d'or qu'ils ont employé pour naviger à la Chine “ par le nord-est, & par ce Détroit d'Anian que tout le monde supposoit (dit-il) entre la “ Chine & le Japon.” Dans la carte originale le Détroit d'Anian étoit marqué.

South entrance being at 180 or 190 degrees of east longitude, extending between 56 and 62 degrees of north latitude. A point of land, named Cape Fortune, forming its eastern headland, from whence a line of coast was traced out to the south part of California. For this he refers to the map of Ortelius, in 1570, and remarks that the return of Sir Francis Drake, in 1579, produced the first alteration.

In 1625, Purchas represented California to be an island, extending the sea of Japan to the northward of it, until it has a communication with Hudson's Bay. But soon after this period several authors of eminence, as De Laet, Hornius, Varenus, &c. beginning to suspect the existence of these straits, they were left out of the best maps. Before this happened, however, several alterations

paravant, vers le 200. Dans le même temps Dudley prolongeant à l'excès la côte meridionale de l'Isle de Ieso, mit en 1647, le *Cap Fortune*, & par conséquent le Détroit d'Anian près du 220 de longitude (selon lui le 229). Enfin ce détroit est transporté près du 240 degré entre les latitudes de 51 & 53 par l'Ecrivain du vaisseau du Californie, d'après quelque carte Angloise qui désigne un passage au norde-est de la Mer du Sud, ou de la Mer du Japon, à la Baye d'Hudson. Guillaume Sanfon en 1667, 1669, &c. ne marqua plus le Détroit d'Anian, (que Nicolas son Pere avoit conservé en 1650, à l'exemple des premiers géographes modernes) & cependant il désigna le passage dont je viens de parler, mais sans y mettre le nom de Détroit d'Anian, qu'il ne croyoit apparemment pas qu'on pût tant éloigner des côtes de la Tartarie. En même temps il marquoit entre le Détroit d'Uriez & la Californie représentée comme une île, la Terre de Ieso, qu'il confond avec celles de la Compagnie & de Jean de Gama, & qu'il semble avoir regardé comme faisant partie l'Amerique, aussi bien que Nicolas Sanfon son Pere. Toutes ces incertitudes engagerent Guillaume Delisle à ne rien mettre, du côté de l'Amerique, au de-là du Cap Blanc; & se servant avec discernement des relations qu'on avoit sur la Terre de Ieso, il ne l'étendit pas plus de 5 degrés à l'est du Japon.

Aujourd'hui

alterations were made, which gradually effaced, he says, every idea of the ancient opinions.

In 1647, Dudley placed Cape Fortune, without giving any name to the straits, about 220 or 229 deg. of east longitude.

In 1649, Texeira retained the name, and fixed them at 200 deg. east longitude; at the same time, he laid down some land, seen by one Joao de Gama, extending to the coast of America.

In 1650, it appears that Nicholas Sanfon retained the name likewise in his chart of America.

In

Aujourd'hui que nous connoissons un détroit vers le nord, près des côtes de la Tartarie, qui sont bien plus avancées au nord-est qu'on n'avoit lieu de croire ci-devant, ne pouvons-nous pas dire que c'est celui auquel nos Anciens ont donné le nom d'Anian? Les ressemblances me paroissent à remarquer, L'un & l'autre a son entrée au Sud vers le 180 degré: ils se trouvent entre les côtes orientales d'Asie ou de Tartarie, & celles du nord-ouest de l'Amérique; ils s'étendent jusqu'au Cercle Polaire, après quoi les Terres tournent du côté de l'Amérique septentrionale au nord-est, & du côté de la Tartarie ou de l'Asie au nord-ouest: enfin nos Anciens marquoient dans leur Détroit d'Anian, près du 60 ou 61 degré de latitude, du côté de l'Amérique, une grande rivière nommée *Grandes Corientes*, qui répond à la rivière de Bernarda. Tout cela ne peut-il pas faire conjecturer qu'ils ont eû réellement la connoissance du détroit en question, & l'idée d'une suite de côte que leurs successeurs ont trop rabaisé, & qu'ils ont rempli de diverses choses presque à l'aventure.

Voici deux observations qui peuvent engager les Sçavans à faire de nouvelles recherches sur ce sujet, surtout en Italie & en Portugal. 1. Les cartes les plus anciennes que j'ai vû, & qui sont toutes Latines, marquent cependant ce Détroit en Italien, *Stretto di Anian*: ce qui me fait soupçonner que le premier qui en a fait mention, est quelque mathématicien d'Italie; où après les premières découvertes des deux Indes, l'on a fait à ce sujet des cartes encore aujourd'hui curieuses pour ceux qui veulent suivre le Progrès des Connoissances Géographiques. 2. Benedetto Scotto Génois, proposant à Louis XIII. en 1619. un *Globe Maritime*, & une *Navigiation*

In 1664, Thevenot, in his edition of Texeira's chart, rejects them entirely, and says, he is convinced that there is no such passage.

In 1667 and 1669, William Sanfon, differing in opinion from his father, rejected the name, but retained the opening; representing California as an island, and De Gamas' Land as part of America.

P

In

Navigation à faire par dessous le Pole Arctique d'une manière qu'il prétendoit aussi aisée que courte, vers ce qu'il appelle la Partie Occidentale du Canada, & vers les Indes Orientales, dit page 5, d'un Discours imprimé à Paris in-folio. “ Cette partie occidentale du Canada “ (qu'il met dans une de ses cartes près du 180 degré selon notre façon de compter,) fut re- “ connue par les Portugais en l'année 1520, en la hauteur de 60 degrés, pour être habitée “ de gens raisonnables & humains, & remplie de quantité (d'animaux,) & de bons pâturages. “ Ils n'abandonnerent cette Terre qu'à cause de la trop grande navigation qui contient 4590 “ lieues (en y venant par la Mer des Indes).”

Cependant, en finissant cet article, je crois devoir ajouter, que dans quelques-unes des plus anciennes cartes, on représente les Terres de l'Amerique septentrionale comme une continuité de celles du nord-est de l'Asie; & elles y sont jointes par un isthme assez large, qui est au nord du Japon. Ce sentiment a eu pendant un assez long-temps plusieurs sectateurs, & même de célèbres. Le P. Kircher étoit de ce nombre, & il desoit en 1636, (in *Prodromo Copto*) qu'il en étoit presque convaincu par des raisons mathématiques. Il paroît que ce sentiment est le plus ancien. Car dans une belle édition de Ptolémée faite à Rome en 1508. & que j'ai vue dans la Bibliothèque de Sorbonne, il y a une carte qui représente les premières découvertes des Espagnols & des Portugais en Amérique, dont la partie du nord-est, c'est à-dire le Labrador & l'Acadie sont supposés être la continuité des Terres de la Tartarie; & ce qu'on venoit de reconnoître du Mexique & de la Floride, est représenté comme des îles. Au reste lorsque le détroit du nord-est gèle, l'Amérique tient à l'Asie par une espèce d'isthme; & si on a eu anciennement quelque indice de passage à pied, indépendamment de toutes les ressemblances qui se trouvent entre les Tartares & les Américains Septentrionaux, le sentiment dont je viens de parler, a pu dans ce cas avoir quelque fondement; sans qu'on doive supposer avec les Anglois auteurs de l'Histoire Universelle, que l'Asie & l'Amérique ont été autrefois jointes ensemble par un isthme, qu'un tremblement de terre a pu détruire.

MEMOIR ON THE

In 1714, William Delisle, from comparing these different accounts, was induced to leave both the name and opening entirely out, and place nothing to the north of Cape Blanco, rejecting at the same time the land of De Gama.

In 1748, Drage, the clerk of the California, retaining both the name and the opening, removes them as far to the eastward as 240 degrees east longitude, and between 51 and 53 degrees north latitude.

Monf. Buache likewise remarks, that, in some of the most ancient maps, there is laid down a large river in 60 or 61 deg. of north latitude, which is called *Grandes Corientes*; and that in most of the maps he has seen, which are Latin, the opening is named *Stretto di Anian*.

From this account it appears, that the oldest charts give the most accurate representation of the north-west coast of America, agreeably to the later discoveries; as they lay down the land extending from California as high as 60 deg. north latitude, from whence it follows a different direction inclining towards the west. The Rio Grandes Corientes, which they place in 60 or 61 deg. north, is a confirmation of this opinion, as it corresponds exactly in its latitude with Cook's River, and its name answers to his description of it, as the current there was found to be so very rapid, that the boats could not row against it. The first alteration

tion that was made appears to have originated with the English geographers, who reduced not only the longitude, but likewise the latitude, and placed the strait just above the north part of California. This was done, according to Bergeron, in consequence of the intelligence obtained from De Fuca (*o*), and Purchas says, that he followed a map which had been published in London. As it is natural to suppose De Fuca would draw a map of his discoveries during his negociation with Lock, it is most likely Purchas copied his own account from it; and as he was residing in Venice, it accounts for the strait being named Stretto di Anian.

Although it was brought down by this means as low as 47 or 48 deg. north latitude, yet the coast, which is now known by the name of Alashka, stretching away to the westward, was not removed until the map of Texeira, in the year 1649, who laid down his coast of De Gama, extending from the island of Jesso to the northern entrance of these straits, about the latitude 50 deg. The greater part of this coast has been rejected, and Mr. Forster supposes it to be no other than the island of Urup, or Schimufyr (*p*); but as Texeira says, it was seen by him in his passage from China to New Spain (*q*), I think it very probable that he might have been driven to the northward in search of variable

P 2

winds,

(*o*) Bergeron. *Traité de Tartar*. Ch xxi, p. 125.

(*p*) Forster's *Voyages and Discoveries in the North*, p. 464.

(*q*) *Terra q vio Do Joao de Gama Indo, da China pera Nova Espaha.*

winds, and seeing the land, which was afterwards named by the Russians, the Aleutian and Fox Isles, supposed it to communicate with the continent of America, and Texeira, consonant with the opinion then entertained in consequence of De Fuca's report, joined it with the Straits of Anian, about the latitude of 50 deg. north. This idea was first of all started by Green, in 1751, soon after the Russians discovered Bhering's and the Copper Islands, to the east of Kamptchatka.

In consequence of this difference of situation, which was altered according to the caprice of every succeeding geographer, joined with the general discredit into which De Fuca's account fell after the death of Mr. Lock, Delisle began to be persuaded that the former maps were erroneous. His opinion was universally followed, and the original maps were totally neglected, until the voyages of Bhering and Tschirckow, in 1741, recognized the coast, which, according to Scotto, the Genoese geographer, some Portuguese had seen so early as 1520 (r).

The situation of the coast being altered, by bringing it 10 degrees further to the southward in consequence of De Fuca's report, might be advanced as an argument against Maldonado's
voyage

(r) I cannot here omit doing justice to the unassuming conduct of Capt. Cook. Whenever he had occasion in his journal, to mention the river which in England still bears his name, he always left a blank, which Lord Sandwich desired might be filled up as it now stands. Now I am clear that his intention was to insert the Russian name whenever he had an opportunity to obtain it, and I am equally confident had it come to his knowledge, he would have given it its original name of *Grandes Corientes*.

voyage having been known at that time, and consequently against Lancaster's passage being in 62 deg. 30 min. north, on the west side of the continent; but when we consider that the East India Company were then newly chartered, and that only for 15 years, we may be led to suppose, they would suppress the information Lancaster had brought as much as they could; but as some account of it had gone abroad, when Mr. Lock held his negotiation with De Fuca, it might be presumed he had some knowledge of it. Now as De Fuca reported, that after he entered the strait, he sailed into the north sea, it is very natural to suppose, that his account, the truth of which was so much contended for by Mr. Lock and his friends, would supersede the vague reports of the information received by the newly established company. I would from these premises infer, that the opening was in consequence placed about 50, instead of 60 deg. north, where Maldonado found it.

The map to illustrate the edition of Ptolemy, in 1508, was constructed in the very dawn of maritime discoveries, consequently it becomes an object well worthy the attention of the geographer; as nothing can afford more pleasure than to trace back science to its infancy, and then follow it, step by step, through its several progressive improvements to a state of maturity. At that time America, excepting the few islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, &c. and some small portions of the continent, must have been delineated on conjecture, consequently we find
that

that the whole of it was represented as an assemblage of islands; but in another edition of the same author, by Sebastian Munster, printed at Basil in 1566, we find his knowledge of this country to have been very accurate, as not only the islands, but the continent, are laid down nearly as they are known to be situated. On the west side he represents California as an island, supposing it to be Zipangri or Japan, and that part of the continent which is to the east of it he calls Chaumayo (perhaps *Teguayo*) and Temistitan. Asia and America are separated by a strait, while Europe is joined to the north-east part of Greenland by a narrow isthmus.

But what is very remarkable, the communication between the two seas is placed in 60 deg. north latitude, forming a short strait answering to Hudson's Straits, after which it opens into a very extensive bay directly in the meridian of Cuba, corresponding exactly with what we know to be the situation of Hudson's and James' Bays. I think it very improbable this should have been done from theory, as it is not reasonable to suppose, that such a very particular coincidence of situations, both in respect to latitude as well as longitude, should be the mere effect of chance. He must have had some foundation for this opinion; and, as he has marked upon the island of Newfoundland the word *Corterati*, I am very much inclined to believe, that what has been reported of Cortereal's discoveries has some foundation in truth (s), and that

(s) Vide Forster's Voyages and Discoveries in the North, p. 460.

that he not only failed along the Coast of Labrador, but that he likewise visited the straits and bay afterwards seen by Hudson and James (*t*). Notwithstanding which, I cannot agree that the name of Anian originated with Cortereal, according to the opinion of some authors; as, in that case, it would have been placed on the east, and not on the west coast of the continent. In support of this idea, it might likewise be remarked, that when Maldonado passed through Hudson's Straits, he gave them the name of Labrador, a name which had been given to the adjoining country

(*t*) If the Portuguese discovered the north-west coast of America, as Scotto says, so early as 1520, it must have been before any account could have been received of Magellan's success; but as the two countries were afterwards united, and as Portuguese officers were often employed in the Spanish service, it is not unlikely his information might have arose in consequence of Loaria's voyage in 1625, which he might have attributed to the Portuguese. At page 81, upon the authority of Bergeron, I have observed, that he is said to have failed from the Moluccas by the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador. Herrera gives a particular account of this voyage, but calls him Loaysa, instead of Loaria. He does not say that he effected a passage; but there are several circumstances which are much in favour of some part of the squadron having failed along the north-west coast of the continent.

He was fitted out with six ships and a tender, in the autumn of 1625. After a variety of accidents, they passed the Straits of Magellan, when they were separated in a violent storm; the tender being provided with a small allowance of provisions, was obliged to bear away for the coast of New Spain, where they were first of all relieved by the natives, and afterwards by Cortes from Mexico. Bergeron says, that Loaysa himself effected a passage; but Herrera, on the contrary, reports that he was separated from the rest of the fleet, and after passing to the northward of the line, fell sick and died.—Herrera, Dec. vii. lib. 7, 8, 9.

It will be necessary for me to observe, that it is said a manuscript collection of marine charts drawn in 1436, and accounts of voyages undertaken by the Venetians in the 13th and 14th centuries, have been lately discovered in St. Mark's Library at Venice, which make it probable that the Antilles and the northern parts of America were discovered long before the time of Columbus or Cabot; but I own that I want faith in this account, as I consider it in the same light as I do the attempt, to take the credit of delineating the western route to Japan from Columbus, and giving it to Martin Behaim, as I have observed in page 12.

country by his predecessor, while the name of Anian was reserved for the strait through which he passed into the south sea, in 60 deg. north latitude, corresponding with the discoveries of the Portuguese more than 70 years before, and on the same side of the continent where it has always been situated.

Mr. Buache says, that these straits were known so early as the date of Ortelius' map, in 1570; or as he notices in another place a map, the date of which is 1566 (*u*); yet I do not suppose it was his intention to convey any idea that the name of Anian was inserted in them. On the contrary, I am of opinion, it was not known earlier than the very beginning of the 17th century, and that it originated from Lancaster's account, which he brought home in 1603. The Burgomaster Witsen's opinion may be brought in support of this idea. He supposes the name to have originated from a cape in the island of Jesso, which, according to the relation of the Dutch voyagers, Van Uriez and Schaep, in the *Castricom* and *Breskes*, in the year 1643, is called the point of *Aniwa* (*x*). Now, if the name were deduced from
a discovery

(*u*) Buache, p. 66. La plus ancienne carte que j'aye trouvé jusqu'à présent, qui marque cette continuation de terres jusqu'au Détroit d'Anian, est une carte Italienne de l'Amérique septentrionale faite en 1566 —Is not this the same authority as Munster's? The date is the same, and he delineates a similar line of coast, but makes no mention of any name to the strait.

(*x*) Buache, page 114. Avant que d'aller plus loin, je dois dire pour suivre l'ordre des tems, que M. Witsen & quelques autres sçavans Hollandois ayant conjecturé que la terre de la Compagnie étoit une pointe de l'Amérique, & que le Détroit d'Anian avoit vraisemblablement

a discovery which was made so late as the middle of the 17th century, by a geographer whose knowledge and reading were so very extensive, I may be warranted to conclude, that, although his position be ill founded, yet the name could not have been known long before that period. Purchas, in his pilgrimage, published in 1629, appears to have obtained better information than he had when he published the former edition, in 1614; as he there says, "As for the more northerly parts, both within
"land, and the supposed Strait of Anian, with other things men-
"tioned in maps, because I know no certainty of them, I leave
"them (y);" for which reason it may be supposed that the account was then recent, or else, as he dealt so much in the marvellous, and gave credit to almost every story that was circulated, he would have taken further notice of it. Nor is any notice taken of these straits in the accounts of Frobisher's or Davis' expeditions in search of a passage; for which reason, comparing all the circumstances together, I am inclined to venture an opinion that they were not known before the voyage of Maldonado, in 1598 (z); but as we are so very liable to be led into

Q

errors

blement tiré son nom du Pays d'Ania ou d'Aniwa reconnu par les Hollandois (à la partie Septentrionale du Jeso. Il falloit que ces Sçavans supposassent que dans les premiers tems des découvertes, le Pays d'Aniwa avoit été reconnu; car ils ne pouvoient ignorer que l'idée du Détroit d'Anian, ainsi que son nom, étoit plus ancienne que la découverte des Hollandois. Mais ils ne s'accordoient pas avec les anciennes relations & cartes, qui mettent le Pays d'Anian à l'est sur la Côte d'Amérique, & non comme Anivva à l'Ouest.

(y) Purchas' Pilgrimage, Ed. 1619, page 782.

(z) I am aware that the account of De Fuca's voyage might be brought against me, as he was said to have been sent by the viceroy to discover the Straits of Anian: but this account

was

errors in tracing the geography of countries so little known, I must beg leave to refer the reader to the next sentence, where I shall take some further notice of the name, and from whence it was derived, if it be not presuming too much to attempt what so eminent a geographer as Witsen failed to accomplish.

Observations on
the Origin of the
name of Anian.

As the coast of California was discovered under the direction of Cortes, the sea which divides it from the continent was named, after him, the Sea of Cortes; but, at some subsequent period, it obtained the appellation of the Red Sea. Whether this arose, as Wytfliet, in his Description of the New World, remarks, from its being joined to the main land by an isthmus, which gave it a similitude to the sea between Egypt and Arabia, or whether it obtained the name from the colour of its water, which the name of the river (Colorado) seems to authorize, I will not contend; but as it was at that period very much the custom in all new discoveries, to form allusions to places situated in the old continent, wherever there was the least resemblance (a),
it

was not written by him; it was the report of Mr. Michael Lock; and as Lancaster's account was at that time just made public on his return, the straits which De Fuca was sent in search of were supposed to be the same, and obtained from Mr. Lock the name which Maldonado had given them.

(a) Munster's map, in 1566, is an example how far the earlier geographers have carried their opinions in respect to the resemblance between the new discoveries in America, and the maps of the old world; as he supposes the coast of Peru, in about 9 degrees south latitude, to be the *Catigara* of Ptolomey. This theory of adapting the new discoveries to the ideas of the ancients was very prevalent in those days, as Mercator and Hondius supposed the islands to the northward of Japan to be the *Insulae Satyrorum* of the same author. Though foreign
from

it is very likely that at the same time this name was given to the gulph, the coast which trends away to the northward obtained the name of Anian, after the desert coast of Africa to the westward of the island of Socotora, in the Indian ocean. I am for this reason willing to admit, that it might be found in maps of

Q 2

America

from the subject, yet I flatter myself it will not be disagreeable to most of my readers if I offer a few observations on this head. The situations of *Catigara* and the *Insula Satyrorum* have been disputed at different times, and as Ptolomey has been detected in shortening the peninsula of the hither India, it has been alledged, that he has carried the knowledge of the Romans too far to the southward in India beyond the Ganges. Dr. Robertson was the last writer on this subject, in his *Disquisition on the Knowledge of the Ancients in India*. He differs from his predecessor D'Anville in some respects, but they both agree that Malacca is the *Aurea Chersonesus*, and that *Catigara* and the *Insula Satyrorum* should be sought for on the coast of Cambodia, as much to the north as Ptolomey has placed it to the south of the line. As any thing which is offered on this subject must be merely matter of opinion, I shall venture, with proper respect to the memory of those eminent authors, to offer a new idea. It is agreed that Ptolomey composed his geography from information, and not from actual observation. This information he received from persons who obtained it at the different Emporia. Now *Perimula* was their southmost station in that part of the world, deriving its name, in all likelihood, from the strong current which sets through the Straits of Drien and Sincapora. The distance between the peninsula of Malacca and the island of Sumatra being so small, and his information being imperfect, he might conclude that there was a connection between the two countries, which will account for the form he has given to the *Aurea Chersonesus*. While *Sinda*, now known as Cape Scin, was the emporium of the merchants from China, *Perimula* was the station where vessels brought their merchandize from Borneo and Java. Hence I suppose the *Jabadii Insula* to be the modern Java, from the west end of which vessels resorted to *Perimula*; at the same time Caytongee, the most eminent, if not the most powerful, Sultan in Borneo, I apprehend to be the scite of *Catigara*. The vessels coming from thence would coast along by Natuna and the other islands which are between Borneo and Banca, where it is well known are the largest apes or ouran outangs in the world, whence the name is derived which he gives to the islands in that direction. The line of coast being continued from the *Ambraustus* and *Senus* rivers, in the *Sinus Magnus*, down to *Catigara*, in all probability gave rise to the opinion, that it was situated to the northward of the line; but as he received his data from various sources collected at the different Emporia, so it appears to me, he confounded the accounts from *Perimula* respecting Borneo, with those brought to *Sinda* relative to China, Cambodia and Siam, from whence he supposed *Catigara* to be a continuation of
the

America, as marking the country about New Albion or California, before the supposed straits between the two seas obtained the name; and this I am rather induced to do, as Wytfliet, in the edition of his work, published so early as 1607, takes notice of it along with the country of Quivira.

Observations on
the Navigation of
the Northern Seas.

If we pay attention to the currents which prevail in the arctic latitudes, we find that they set to the eastward between the north cape and Greenland, so that it is very rare to find any ice in the Norwegian

the same continent. It is some confirmation to this idea, that where the sea which separates Borneo from Cambodia is situated, Ptolomey places a gulph which he calls *Sinus Sericus*.

This short digression will be considered as a conjecture only, which, as it has not been offered before, may tend to throw some new light on a part of ancient geography, which has been so often contested.

Before I dismiss the subject entirely, I cannot help taking notice of an error into which, I apprehend, that venerable scholar Lord Monboddo, and his late learned friend Sir John Pringle, have accidentally fallen, in respect to the illustration of the following line in Horace :

Quid tibi vis, mulier, nigris dignissima Barris ?

which they suppose alludes to a species of ape on the coast of Africa named *Barris*. His Lordships says (*Origin and Progress of Language*, Vol. i. page 275), " I think this must be the animal meant by Horace. By *Barri*, all the commentators that I have consulted understand *elephants*; but this is certainly not the meaning, as neither the epithet *black* agrees to an elephant, nor the known character of that animal for chastity, make such a conjunction proper; and, besides, the disproportion betwixt the size and shape of a woman and an elephant is so great, that we cannot suppose, that so correct a writer as Horace would have used so extravagant an hyperbole. Whereas an animal, such as the physician Noëlle describes, would make a very fit match for a lewd woman. This is a criticism which I owe to my learned and worthy friend Sir John Pringle, President of the Royal Society." When it is recollected that the people of Siam, who are black, and where the greatest number of elephants in any part of the world are bred, were called *BARRÆ* by Ptolomey, we cannot hesitate a moment to conclude, that Horace had this nation in view, without having recourse to a conjecture, that the Romans had some knowledge of Africa beyond what their geographers have handed down to us.

Norwegian seas. This set of the current is similar to what takes place in the antarctic latitudes, as ships doubling Cape Horn, unless they keep near the shore of Terra del Fuego, are behind their reckoning several degrees, as was instanced in the squadron under Lord Anson. This similarity between the currents towards the two poles arises from the rotatory motion of the globe. As the sea which has a constant movement to the west, between the tropics, must return in an eddy, to find its natural level, in a contrary direction, which direction will constantly be altered according to the bearing of the coast it passes by. The arctic eddy, if I may be allowed the expression, forms the immense fields of ice between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, and after traversing the polar seas, vents itself at the Straits of Bhering between the two continents. Now, as a rapid current constantly sets out of Davis' Straits, it is reasonable to suppose that it arises from the same source, bringing with it those mountains of ice which are sometimes found floating as far south as the banks of Newfoundland. This opinion is founded on the report of the original discoverers, who observed strong currents setting out of the inlets to the northward, which, from the numbers they saw there, they named Whale Sound.

This great quantity of ice is a considerable obstacle to the navigation of those seas; but, at the same time, the strength of the current is a reason why the ice is seldom or ever collected in fields, excepting near the southern coasts, or where it may be
accidentally

accidentally accumulated by eddies, as Baffin found it during his voyage. The Danes having established factories as high as 72 deg. north, is a proof that the navigation is not so difficult as has been generally represented, which accords with Pickerfsgill's account, whose journal was published in the Philosophical Transactions. Perhaps the earlier ships are fitted out for those seas the better, before the summer is advanced enough to set the ice adrift; as it is observable, that the earlier the voyages of discovery were set on foot, the further they reached to the northward. Baffin, who traversed the whole of the bay so early as the month of July, sailed from England on the 26th of March. There are some circumstances which may lead us to suppose, that those seas are most encumbered with ice at the very time they are most navigated; as, in more than one instance, the Hudson's Bay Company's ships have been accidentally delayed in the straits until Christmas; and have then found them free from ice. The small number of vessels they lose, and the success of the unfortunate Peyrouse during the last war, who navigated the whole of the bay without any accident, with a line of battle ship and two or three frigates, are sufficient proofs that the navigation is not so hazardous as they represent it to be.

The northern parts of the Pacific Ocean are not at all encumbered with ice; as, during the two seasons which Captain Cook was in those seas, it does not appear that he met with any until he was stopped by the frozen barrier in 70 deg. north latitude,
after

after passing the strait which separates the two continents ; and the different voyagers who were embarked in the fur trade in those seas agree, that the northern Pacific is navigable through the whole year, and that no ice whatever is to be met with between March and October. One of the first of these adventurers, Captain Mears, in the brig Nootka, was obliged to winter in Snug Corner Cove, in Prince William's Sound, and though the vessel was frozen up for some months, yet during the whole of the winter the sound was free from ice. Now this difference between the seas on the two sides of the continent arises from the narrow strait between Asia and America, where there are only 18 or 20 fathoms of water, and the lands of both continents converging together, the ice is prevented from passing to the southward, in such bodies as it does through the openings into Baffin's Bay.

That the same cause, which prevents the ice from being carried through Bhering's Strait into the sea of Kamtchatka, exists likewise to the northward of the frozen ocean, is very probable, as neither Mr. Hearne nor Mr. M'Kenzie found the sea frozen, excepting near the shore. If this be the case, less difficulties may be found in navigating those seas than are generally imagined; and I am very much persuaded, that after passing Baffin's Bay, the greater part of them would be surmounted; as what ice there is to be found in the Japanese inlets drifts to the south-west, consequently it must occasion less resistance than the ice in Baffin's

fin's Bay, which constantly follows a direction contrary to the course which must be held to get to the northward.

CONCLUSION.

I shall venture to conclude, that, from the variety of observations offered in the preceding pages, there is a great probability, if not an absolute certainty, of the existence of a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans; the difficulties attending the navigation of which may be surmounted, and from the present improved state of maritime knowledge, the currents may be so ascertained, as to render it as safe and as certain as the passage through Hudson's Straits.

The legislature has considered it a subject of such importance, as to offer a reward of 20,000*l.* to effect the discovery. Until within a few years this could only have been an object worth the attention of persons fitting out ships for the Davis' Straits fishery. No advantages whatever have accrued in consequence of this great reward, and the reason is very obvious. If the owners of a ship employed in that fishery should be induced to order the master, to endeavour to get to the northward, so as to effect a discovery, in hopes of obtaining the reward, and he should be so fortunate as to get three parts of the way through to the westward, but not succeed, neither his owners nor himself would be entitled to the smallest gratuity. For which reason, the persons engaged in that fishery are contented with falling in with the ice just within the straits, where they get a cargo of sea loil and skins,

without

without running any risk to get farther to the northward. This was an oversight in the act which originally offered the reward, and likewise in that which extended it to the officers employed in his Majesty's navy, and ought to be remedied; as it has not only tended to cramp the spirit of discovery, but, at the same time, has been a check, I may venture to call it so, to the commercial interest of the country; as many persons, in hopes of a reward, might be induced to penetrate into Baffin's Bay, when they might not venture to run the risk of an attempt to effect a passage.

For these reasons, I shall beg leave to submit to the attention of the legislature, if it would not be for the advantage of the nation at large, whether we consider it in a commercial or a geographical view, to divide the premium into three several proportions, which should be given to the persons first discovering as far as certain fixed situations from each side of the continent. These situations I would propose to be,

1st. The communication between Baffin's Bay and the frozen ocean, whether by Lancaster's or any other opening to the westward.

2d. The mouth of the Copper-mine River, as determined by Mr. Hearne.

3d. Whale Island, as determined by Mr. M'Kenzie, at the mouth of the river discharging itself from the Great Slave Lake.

R

It

It might be objected, that this method would be adding an additional expence beyond the original sum voted by parliament; but as it would not amount perhaps to more than 10,000l, it ought not to be placed in competition with the national advantage which might in future accrue from it; as setting aside the idea of finding a passage, owners of vessels in the Davis' Strait trade may be more induced, by means of these regulations, than they are at present, to explore Baffin's Bay, which may lay a foundation for a whale fishery in a part of the world hitherto neglected.

A MEMOIR

A
M E M O I R
ON THE
D I S C O V E R I E S
OF
D E F O N T E.

M. E. M. O. I. R.

of the

D. I. S. C. O. V. E. R. I. E. S.

of

D. E. T. O. M. E.

A
M E M O I R
ON THE
DISCOVERIES of DE FONTE.

CONTAINING

*Introduction—Intention of the Spaniards in communicating Mau-
relle's Journal—Account of De Fonte's Narrative—Archipela-
go of S. Lazarus recognized in 1785 and 1787—Observations
on Bernarda's Track—Lake Velasco supposed to be Part of the
Great Slave Lake of the Canadian Traders—Bernarda's Isle
and Peninsula of Conibasset recognized in 1789—Observations
on Peter Pond's Narrative—Lake Belle probably Part of the
Great Slave Lake—De Fonte's Lake supposed to be the Edland
Lake of Hearne—Straits of Ronquillo supposed to be the Co-
gead Lake of Hearne—Observations on its Communication with
Repulse Bay—Objections against De Fonte's Narrative con-
sidered—Observations on the Northern Part of the American
Continent—Affinity between the Nootka Names and those in De
Fonte's Narrative—Conclusion.*

SINCE the free navigation of the Pacific Ocean, and a settle-
ment on the western coast of America, has been secured to us
by the convention lately made with the Court of Spain, the sub-
ject I am now going to enter upon must be considered of great
importance to the commercial interest of this country. Impres-
fed

INTRODUCTION

M E M O I R

OF THE

D I S C O V E R I E S

D E F O N T E

A
M E M O I R
ON THE
DISCOVERIES of DE FONTE.

CONTAINING

Introduction—Intention of the Spaniards in communicating Maurelle's Journal—Account of De Fonte's Narrative—Archipelago of S. Lazarus recognized in 1785 and 1787—Observations on Bernarda's Track—Lake Velasco supposed to be Part of the Great Slave Lake of the Canadian Traders—Bernarda's Isle and Peninsula of Conibasset recognized in 1789—Observations on Peter Pond's Narrative—Lake Belle probably Part of the Great Slave Lake—De Fonte's Lake supposed to be the Edland Lake of Hearne—Straits of Ronquillo supposed to be the Cogead Lake of Hearne—Observations on its Communication with Repulse Bay—Objections against De Fonte's Narrative considered—Observations on the Northern Part of the American Continent—Affinity between the Nootka Names and those in De Fonte's Narrative—Conclusion.

SINCE the free navigation of the Pacific Ocean, and a settle-
ment on the western coast of America, has been secured to us
by the convention lately made with the Court of Spain, the sub-
ject I am now going to enter upon must be considered of great
importance to the commercial interest of this country. Impres-
fed

INTRODUCTION

fed with an opinion of the advantages that must result from it, the society for the encouragement of arts and sciences have offered a reward, for the discovery of a communication between the government of Upper Canada and the western coast of the continent.

The profits to be gained by carrying the furs of America to the Chinese market were no sooner made public, by the observations contained in the narrative of Captain Cook's last voyage, than several enterprising merchants, disdaining the great risque, which, from the immense distance, must be naturally expected, fitted out several vessels to embark in that trade. These expeditions led them to those places which the Spaniards were said to have visited under the command of De Fonte and De Fuca; a short time only had elapsed before an entire stop was put to their trade, by the force sent against them from the Spanish settlements by order of the Court of Spain. During this time, they discovered, however, enough of the coast to prove, that such inlets, as the straits named after those two navigators, have a real existence, and that the accounts given of them were not the productions of idle visionaries calculated to amuse the world.

Intention of the
Spaniards in com-
municating Mau-
velle's Journal.

It is astonishing what care the Court of Spain takes to conceal any discoveries made in those seas. Some were made as far to the northward as 55 deg. north, by ships sent from St. Blas in the year 1774, and another voyage was made in the next year under
the

the command of Don Bruno Heceta, as far as 57 deg. 18 min north. A journal kept by Don Antonio Maurelle, second pilot on board one of the ships, was communicated to the Honourable Mr. D. Barrington (*a*), and some slight information of this expedition appears to have been given to Captain Cook, before he failed in 1776. The editor of his last voyage makes the following remarks, in support of his not exploring De Fonte's Straits when navigating those seas.

"The perusal of the following extract from their journals
"may be recommended to those (if any such there be) who
"would represent it as an imperfection in Capt. Cook's voyage,
"that he had not an opportunity of examining the coast of
"America, in the latitude assigned to the discoveries of Admiral
"Fonte, "We now attempted to find out the Straits of Admi-
"ral Fonte, though as yet we have not discovered the Archipe-
"lago of St. Lazarus, through which he is said to have failed.
"With this intent, we searched every bay and recess of the coast,
"and sailed round every headland, lying to in the night, that we
"might not lose sight of this entrance. After these pains taken,
"and favoured by a north-west wind, it may be pronounced that
"no such straits are to be found (*b*)."

The fallacy of these observations has been clearly proved,
and we are strongly led to believe, that the communication of
Maurelle's

(*a*) Historical Abridgement of Discoveries, p. 48. (*b*) Preface to Cook's last Voyage.

MEMOIR ON THE

Maurelle's journal was made for no other purpose, than to mislead the Admiralty in framing the instructions for the then intended expedition in search of a north-west passage.

As I shall have frequent occasion to refer to particular parts of De Fonte's account, it will be necessary for me to give some particulars from the narrative, which was inserted in the Memoirs of the Curious, in the year 1708.

In the year 1639, the Court of Spain having intelligence of some expeditions attempted in that year by the people of Boston, in New England, Bartholomew De Fonte was appointed to command a squadron fitted out at Callao in Peru to oppose them. His own vessel was named the Holy Ghost, and he had under his command Don Diego Peneloffa in the Saint Lucia, Peter Bernardo in the Rosary, and Philip de Ronquillo in the King Philip. He sailed April 3d, 1640, and arrived at Chiametlan on the 26th, where he engaged a Captain and six sailors, who had been trading for pearls with the natives of the country to the east of California, who fish for them on a bank which is 19 degrees of latitude more to the northward than the pearl banks of St. Jean, in 24 deg. north latitude. De Fonte was informed by this Captain, that, about 200 leagues to the northward of Cape St. Lucas, he had found a flood from the north, which met that coming from the south, from which circumstance there was a certainty of California being an island. He therefore dispatched Don D.

Peneloffa

Peneloffa, nephew of Don Louis de Haro, prime minister of Spain, to ascertain the fact. He went in his own vessel, accompanied by the Chiametlan Captain, and four shallops, adapted by their draft of water for shallow seas.

The narrative takes no notice of the result of Peneloffa's expedition; but it should be remarked, on the authority of Delisle (*Memoir sur la Mer de l'Ouest*), that a Count de Pignalosse was viceroy of Mexico, and published a map which placed Quivira to the east of New Mexico; and Mons. Buache observes, that he has seen some extracts of Delisle the elder, wherein mention is made of the Count de Pignalosse retiring into France about the year 1680, and presenting a memorial to the King, in which he offered to make him master of the kingdoms of Teguaio and Quivira (c).

If this account be true, we may be led to believe, that the relation of Father Kino was published with no other view, than to counteract the accounts which had got abroad of De Fonte's and Peneloffa's discoveries, particularly as it was transmitted to Eng-

S

land

(c) Je ne sçai si ce jeune Seigneur qu'on nomme ici de Peneloffa, ne feroit pas le même que celui qui fut ensuite viceroy du Mexique, & que Guillaume Delisle appelle le Comte de Pignalosse (*Mém. sur la Mer de l'Ouest*). C'est le même nom en Espagnol, écrit diversement. J'ai lu dans quelques Extraits de M. Delisle le pere, que ce viceroy avant eû quelques démêlés avec l'Archevêque du Mexique (vers l'an 1680) se retira en France, & y présenta au Roy un mémoire par lequel il se faisoit fort, moyennant certaines conditions, de le rendre maître du Royaume de Teguaio & de la Grande Quivira, qu'il devoit avoir mille lieues d'étendue (dans l'opinion qu'elle alloit jusqu'au véritable Détroit d'Anian du côté de l'Ouest) & qu'il prétendoit n'être pas éloignée de la Nouvelle France du côté de l'Est.—B. C. p. 73.

land nearly about the same time as the journal of De Fonte was made public.

De Fonte afterwards sailed himself with the rest of his squadron, to put in execution the orders he had received. He entered the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, in latitude 53 deg. north, on the 14th of June, and continued sailing through it for 260 leagues, in intricate channels among islands, until he arrived at the mouth of a river, which he named Rio de los Reyes. From this place he dispatched the ship under the command of Bernardo, on the 28th of the same month, to discover the Tartarian sea. To effect this, Bernardo sailed up a river, the course of which was north north-east and north north-west. This river was named Rio del Haro, and came from a lake full of islands, which he called Velasco. A south south-east moon made high water in both the rivers, and it flowed from 22 to 24 feet in each of them. He appears to have held a westerly course in the lake 60 leagues, until he arrived at a large peninsula, called by the natives Conibasset; he left the ship there in a safe port, formed by an island called by him Bernarda, and the Peninsula; and then proceeded in three Indian boats, each made of a tree 50 or 60 feet long, accompanied by two Jesuits, 20 of his own seamen, and 36 of the natives, down a river, which had three falls, 80 leagues, until he came into the Tartarian sea, in latitude 61 degrees north. The Jesuits, who went with him, are said to have been before as far north as 66 degrees.

From

From this place he dispatched a letter, dated June 27th, to De Fonte, to inform him of his success, and then followed the direction of the coast, which trended to the north-east. He sailed by different courses north-east, east-north-east, and north-east and by east, as far as 77, or, as it is said in another place, 79 degrees north latitude, 436 leagues, where he found the land to extend to the northward, and the ice fixed to the shore. At this place, one of his seamen went with the natives to a fresh water lake, about 30 miles in circumference, which emptied itself into Davis' Straits. This lake was in 80 degrees north latitude, and on the north of it were very high mountains. After which he returned, and joined the fleet on the 11th of August.

The same day he sent away Barnarda, De Fonte sailed up the river which he had called De los Reyes, into a lake named Belle. In the river there is a fall of water until half flood; but an hour and quarter before high water the flood begins to set strongly into the lake, and the water in the river was found to be fresh 20 leagues from the entrance. On the 1st of July, he left his ships in a harbour called Conoffet, formed by a fine island, and sailed to a river, which he named Rio Parmentire, from a person who accompanied him, and who is said to have exactly surveyed it. In passing the river, he went over eight falls, in all 32 feet perpendicular from its source; following the course of the river, he came, on the 6th of July, to a large lake, which he named De Fonte, after himself. This lake is 160 leagues long, and 60

broad, extending east north-east and west south-west, and is from 20 to 60 fathoms deep, abounding in cod and ling. There are several large islands and some small ones in it, particularly on the south side, where there is a very large one well peopled. In eight days he passed the east north-east end of the lake, and entered another, which he named Estrecho de Ronquillo: this lake was 24 leagues long and 3 broad, and from 20 to 30 fathoms of water. In this place he found a tide, and being favoured with the ebb and a strong gale, was able to pass it in 10 hours.

Three days afterwards he came to an Indian town, where the inhabitants told his interpreter, Mr. Parmentire, of a ship which was anchored at a little distance. This ship De Fonte found came from Boston, commanded by one Shapely, and the owner, Major Gibbons, was on board. He purchased Shapeley's charts and journals, and then returned, with as much wind as they could carry sail to, the 6th of August, and were at the first fall of the Parmentire River on the 11th, 86 leagues, and on the 16th arrived safe on board his ship in the port of Conosset. September the 2d, he sailed on his return home, and on the morning of the 5th he anchored between Arenna and Mynhasset, Arenna being about 20 leagues from the Rio los Reyes, and Mynhasset near it: after passing the river, he returned home. In the conclusion of his account he says, that the chart will make it clear, that there is no entrance into the south sea by the north-west passage; but no chart accompanies the relation.

That a very considerable opening, in every respect answering to the description he gives of the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, exists in the same latitude in which he lays it down, has been proved by several authentic testimonies; and if future discoverers should likewise prove as successful in exploring his course through the lakes, there cannot remain a doubt but the most important advantages may be derived from it to the commerce of this country, by opening so direct a navigation to Nootka Sound. To stimulate the future adventurers in that part of the world to prosecute his track, and to excite their endeavours to establish so desirable a communication between the two seas, is the object of this Memoir.

Archipelago of St. Lazarus recognized in 1785 and 1787.

Between Nootka Sound and Cape Edgecumbe, exactly in the latitude where the Archipelago of St. Lazarus is situated, according to De Fonte's narrative, Captain Cook was prevented from seeing the land; but Captain Roberts, who constructed the chart which is annexed to his last voyage, marks the line of coast which the Spaniards under Don Heceta are said to have seen. The exact situation of this land was ascertained by Captain Lowrie and Guise in the year 1786, while on a voyage of commercial adventure, and afterwards found by Captain Dixon, who commanded a ship in the same trade, to be an assemblage of isles, which he called Charlotte Isles, the name they still retain. These islands are separated from the eastern shore by an opening as wide as the English channel, and exactly in the latitude of 53 deg.

deg. north. Captain Hanna, who was trading on the coast in the year 1785, discovered islands with extensive sounds stretching to the eastward, corresponding with the description of De Fonte's Archipelago of St. Lazarus. In 1787, Captain Duncan examined these sounds, and proceeded among the islands in a north north-east direction, until he found a scarcity of sea otter skins, which was the object of his voyage, when he was obliged reluctantly to return. These islands, he says, are so very mountainous that the snow remains perpetually upon their summits, and the sea is so deep close to the shore, that he very seldom came to an anchor, but made his sloop fast to the trees near the water. These trees were generally fir, of the first quality for masts. As he entered the archipelago, the mountains gradually increased in height, towering above each other; but he observed, at the extent of his researches, that they gradually decreased to the eastward of him, from whence he supposes, the account which the commander of the American sloop Washington gave (*d*), of his having sailed through an open sea, according with that which De Fuca is said to have navigated, might be credited.

This archipelago having been certainly ascertained to be situated in the same latitude in which De Fonte places it, stamps a credit on his account, and leads us to place the greater confidence in his narrative, in those places where we have not an equal authority to guide us.

From

(*d*) Vide page 66.

From the entrance of the Archipelago of St. Lazarus to the place where the two rivers, Rio Haro and Rio de los Reyes, fall into the sea, he says, that he sailed 260 leagues, in intricate passages among islands, keeping the boats a mile a-head to sound. Now the commander of the American sloop having ascertained the existence of an extensive mediterranean sea beyond those islands, which form the entrance of the archipelago, gives some authority to this part of his account, and if we allow for the different courses he must have sailed among the islands, the distance will give him a position near the Arathapescow Lake of Hearne, or the Great Slave Lake of the Canadian traders. If we examine Mr. Hearne's draught of this lake, which was made from the Indian accounts, we shall find on the south coast of it a bay, which is marked Salt Water Bay, into which a river appears to discharge itself, which is called Salt Water River; and this is further confirmed by a draught of the inland country brought to England by Norton, which is published, from the original in the Hudson's Bay Company's possession, by Mr. Dalrymple, as the word Salt is written in that exactly in the same situation. I would therefore infer from this observation, that the lake which De Fonte discovered, and entered with his ships after passing the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, is the Grand Slave Lake of the Canadian traders, or the Arathapescow of Mr. Hearne.

We shall, in the first place, proceed to examine the route which Bernarda followed after he entered the Lake Velasco by
means

Observations on
Bernarda's Track,
Lake Velasco sup-
posed to be part of
the Great Slave
Lake.

means of the Rio Haro. He sailed to the westward 60 leagues, until he came to a port at the mouth of a river running to the westward, which was formed by an island, to which he gave his own name, and a peninsula which was called Conibasset. This river, we have before remarked, has been navigated by a Mr. M'Kenzie, who found it to issue out of the west end of the lake (*e*), and the traders having surveyed part of the north coast of the lake, found a deep bay, which, from its direction, seems to form a peninsula at the north part of the river, corresponding exactly with the peninsula of Conibasset. When Mr. M'Kenzie surveyed the river, he found that its course was to the northward, instead of westward, and that it did not communicate with the sea to the southward of the latitude 69 deg. north.

Bernarda's Isle and
Peninsula of Coni-
basset recognized in
1789.

Observations on
Peter Pond's Nar-
rative.

This is certainly against the account we have of Bernarda's track to the Tartarian sea, which he entered by means of this river, in the latitude of 61 deg. north; but I must beg leave to refer the reader to an account published in the Gentleman's Magazine some little time since from one Peter Pond, where he will observe, that the river we are speaking of was supposed by him to have a communication to the westward, either with Cook's River or Prince William's Sound; as some of the traders had traced it as far as 141 deg. west longitude, in that direction, when they were stopped by falls the largest in the world, the river being two miles wide at that place, and that he himself saw an Indian in

(*e*) Vide p. 85.

in 1787, who came up the river, and had in his possession a blanket he had trafficked for with persons on board a ship which had been trading on the coast (*f*). Now the falls which he represents to have been found in this river correspond with Bernarda's account, but do not at all agree with Mr. M'Kenzie's report; as he only observed two rapids in the whole course which he followed, and no falls whatever, and it is not likely the Indians, who, from the circumstance of their having a blanket in their possession, must have come from the west coast, would have gone so far to the northward as latitude 69 deg. for a passage to the lake. For which reasons, I am inclined to give credit to

T

Pond's

(*f*) *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LX, p. 197, *Extract of a letter from ***** at Quebec*, Nov. 7, 1789. From out of the Great Slave Lake runs a very large river, its course almost south-west, and has the largest falls on it in the known world; it is, at least, near two miles wide where the falls are, and an amazing body of water. This river leaves the lake in latitude 64 deg. north, and longitude 135 west, and the falls are in longitude 141. The great chain of mountains that extend from Mexico along the Western, or Pacific Ocean, and the Northern Pacific Ocean, terminates in latitude $62\frac{1}{2}$ deg. and longitude 136 deg. so that the Slave River runs to the westward of them, and empties into the ocean by its course in latitude 59 deg. — The mouth of Slave River, at the lake, is in latitude 64 deg. and longitude 134 deg. The mouth of Cook's River is in latitude 59 deg. 40 min. and longitude 154 deg. The courses are north-easterly and south-westerly. The degrees of longitude in that latitude are but little more than 26 miles upon the average to a degree, and the difference of the latitude only about 4 degrees; hence, and as there is no other known vent for the river setting out of Slave Lake, nor any other river in that country to the northward or southward of Slave Lake, to form such a river as Cook's, there can be little doubt but the source of Cook's River is now fully discovered and known. — Another proof is, that the gentleman (from whose chart and from whom I have collected the above information) met with two Indians, who came, as they said, up a river from the Northern Pacific Ocean all the way to the Slave Lake. They brought him a blanket in 1787, which they received from vessels which were at the mouth of the river. They said that the river they were in is large to the place of discharge, and navigable; so that, if we take the latitude and longitude of the two rivers, the courses, and all the other circumstances, into consideration, little doubt remains but that they are the same.

Pond's account, and as Mr. M'Kenzie remarks, that there was river on the west bank as he proceeded to the northward, I should apprehend that the current divides itself at that place, and the lake discharges itself to the westward as well as to the northward. After Bernarda entered the Tartarian sea, the opening, which I have in the preceding memoir endeavoured to point out as the Straits of Anian, would afford him a passage to the head, as he terms it, of Davis' Straits, and the distance which he is said to have sailed will be nearly answerable (g).

Lake Belle probably part of the Great Slave Lake.

But to return to De Fonte, whose track is more immediately connected with our present subject. It appears that the Lake Belle, into which he found an entrance, by means of the Rio de los Reyes, could not be very far distant to the east of the Lake Velasco, so that I am of opinion, he likewise navigated the more eastern part of the same lake as Bernarda did, which, as he entered it by a separate opening, he might suppose to be a distinct collection of water. The port which he came to an anchor in, and which he called Conoffet, I apprehend to be near the island which the Canadian traders have since visited, and named la Coche. The narrative is rather against this opinion, as in one part

(g) In Bernarda's report to De Fonte, he remarks, that when he arrived at the latitude of 79 deg. north, he found the ice fixed to the shore, and the land still trending to the northward. This may be brought in support of what I have advanced in the preceding memoir as an opinion, that the same cause which prevents the ice from passing to the southward through Bhering's Strait, may exist at the northern part of the frozen ocean, so as to render those seas navigable.

part of it the place is said to be situated on the south side of the lake, and consequently near the mouth of the river by which he entered; but the distance of time which he took, on his return, to sail from Conoffet, before he arrived at the river, gives me reason to suppose it at a greater distance. The situation is of very little consequence in respect to the authenticity of the account, for which reason I have ventured to place it at the Isle de Coche, because he departed from Conoffet, and almost immediately after went down the river Parmentire. Now the Canadian traders have noticed a large river in the north part of the Slave Lake, corresponding exactly with the Rio Parmentire: they have only marked the opening, as it had not been navigated in the year 1789.

By means of this river, De Fonte discovered the large lake which he named after himself. Here I am left once more to venture upon conjecture; but I flatter myself it will not be without some probable foundation. Mr. Arrowsmith has not ventured to mark any thing to the northward of the Slave Lake; but if we have reference to Mr. Hearne's map, we shall find that he lays down, on Indian information, a very considerable lake, called Edland, which communicates with the lake he calls Arathapescow, by means of a river, or rather chain of small lakes, exactly in the direction where Mr. Arrowsmith marks the opening of the Great River from the Canadian accounts. This river I suppose to be the same that De Fonte discovered, receiving its

De Fonte's Lake
supposed to be the
Edland Lake of
Hearne.

waters from the Slave Lake, instead of discharging itself into it as Mr. Hearne represents.

From this lake he passed, without the intervention of any falls, east north-east into the Lake, or rather Strait, of Ronquillo, where he met with a tide of ebb, and, as he says he found very good cod and ling in this place, we may be led to conclude that this collection of water must communicate with the ocean, either by the Straits of Ronquillo, or in some other part (*h*). The Japanese map, which I have before had occasion to refer to, takes notice of an inlet from the frozen ocean, which runs as far south as the latitude 65 deg. The existence of this inlet was confirmed in 1789 by Mr. M'Kenzie, as I have before observed; for the Indians informed him, at the latitude 66 deg. north, while he was passing down the river to the ocean, that the sea was but a short distance on either side of him. Comparing this account with the circumstance of Mr. Hearne's laying down the Edland Lake in the same spot, there cannot be a stronger proof of the existence of De Fonte's Lake, except it be deduced from an actual survey.

Strait of Ronquillo supposed to be the Cogead Lake of Hearne.

Mr. Hearne, in his passage to and from the Coppermine River, travelled along the banks of a lake to which the Indians gave the name of Cogead. This lake extends north and south nearly

24

(*h*) I shall, however, have occasion to remark hereafter, that the existence of cod and ling in this lake is not a positive proof of its actual communication with the sea; as they have been found in those parts, in lakes where the water is quite fresh.

24 leagues, and is about three or four leagues broad in every part of it. If it should appear that my reasoning has any foundation for the situation in which I have placed the Rio Parmentire and the Lake De Fonte, I apprehend there cannot be the smallest reason to hesitate a moment, in supposing the Straits of Ronquillo to have been recognized by Mr. Hearne, under the name of the Cogead Lake, in the year 1770. For the length and breadth agree exactly with each other, and the northern Indians having a town (Congecathawachaga) at the north-east extremity of the lake, which has a communication with the sea to the eastward, corresponding with the Indian town where De Fonte received his information of the Boston ship, carries with it such weight, as to remove it perhaps beyond the possibility of doubt.

It will not, I flatter myself, be necessary for me to make any further observations, to prove the strong similarity between De Fonte's account and the modern discoveries; but I must observe, that there is one part of the narrative, which, as it now stands, is not perfectly intelligible. This is on his return, where he says, "he arrived at the first fall of Rio Parmentire on the 11th August, 86 leagues." What part of the course was 86 leagues has not been hitherto ascertained. There appears to me, in this place, to be a typographical error, and that it should be read 186 leagues, instead of 86. The intention of the author was to say, that he left the Boston ship on the 6th August, with a strong gale and the current in his favour, and by the 11th he had sailed from

from the east end of Lake Ronquillo, to the first fall of the Rio Parmentire, at the west end of Lake De Fonte; the distance between them being 186 leagues. He had before ascertained the extent of these lakes, which jointly form a collection of water, measuring 184 leagues from east to west; so that allowing the river which connects them to be two leagues more, it will make, in the whole, the distance he sailed in 5 days, which is somewhat less than five knots an hour.

Observations on
its communication
with Repulse Bay

From the concurring testimony of the Indians, and from several sketches which are in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company, it is very apparent, that there is somewhere a communication between the Welcome and the Frozen Ocean, at the mouth of the Coppermine River. A rude sketch, drawn with charcoal on a deer skin, of a map of the country to the northward of Churchill River, brought by two northern Indian traders, *Meatonabee* and *Idot ly ozee*, has been published by Mr. Dalrymple. This map deserves particular attention, as the recent discoveries of Hearne and the Canadians are very accurately delineated upon it (*i*). The coast, according to this authority, is continued from Churchill to the Coppermine. This is further confirmed by

(*i*) And it should be observed, that the collection of water which Hearne calls Cogead, and delineates as a small lake, is in this sketch represented extending from the Indian town to the southward; but the lines are abruptly broken off, as they diverge from each other, as if the lake was of such extent to be beyond the reach of his observation. This accords with my idea, that it has a communication with the large Lake of De Fonte. It is likewise worthy observation, that one of the tracks here marked down, which the Indians make going to and from

by another map, likewise published by Mr. Dalrymple, from the Hudson's Bay Company's papers, which was either drawn by, or remarks have been made upon it, by an European; as, at the place where Repulse Bay should be placed, the following observation is made: "The farthest C. Middleton went in the ship "when upon discovery, very little water," and several islands are laid down in the channel. Middleton did not find any want of water during the time he was at the bay; but he did not go near the western shore by three leagues, as appears by an extract from Rankin's journal, as it was originally delivered to the Admiralty, before the dispute arose between Middleton and Dobbs, which occasioned him afterwards to revise those parts which related to Wager River(*k*).

It

from Churchill, is the same which Mr. Hearne followed along the eastern bank of the Co-gead; but another is marked, which appears to lead down the Clowey River into the Slave Lake, which it crosses to the northward, and follows its coast until it enters a great bay, the eastern branch of which it traverses to the source, from whence it trends directly to the eastward, to the Indian town of Congecathawhachaga. May we not from hence presume, that the birch canoes of the Indians being too small to navigate so large a collection of water, as De Fonte represents that lake to be, they are obliged to follow this circuitous route in order to avoid this inconvenience.

(*k*) "August 6, 1742—We worked up round much straggling ice all night; in the morning when the sun cleared up the Haze, to our great disappointment, we saw the land low, " quite round the lower beach, round to the westward of north, and make a deep bay; and " our hopes of a passage that way all over. But to make sure, we kept on our course to the " cod of it, until 2 P. M. that we could not go above six or eight miles farther that way, " we tried the tide, and found none at all."

" August 7—Little winds and fair weather. Sounded 70 fathom. At 2 P. M. tacked in " the cod of the bay. It bore N. by W. (mem. 3 points variation W.) distance 3 leagues. " Across from side to side, 6 or 7 leagues very high land. At 4 ditto, Cape Hope bore " S. W.

It is likewise very evident, that Middleton took very little pains to ascertain whether any opening could be found among the islands to the westward, as he not only tacked when he came within three leagues of the bottom of the bay, but likewise failed out of it on his return; so that he took scarcely 24 hours to examine the whole bay, as he worked round Cape Hope, in the night of the 6th, and at 4 in the morning of the 7th, he made the same cape to bear from him north north-east, being then in the Welcome. Hence it is very clear, his finding no less than 70 fathom does not invalidate the testimony of the observation made in this map; as he neither staid long enough, or went near enough to examine the bottom of the bay.

The Directors of the Company, I should apprehend, know how this map came into their possession, and must be well acquainted with what dependence can be placed upon its authority; but at any rate, when compared with the Indian sketches, and Middleton's slight examination of these parts, it gives great room to suppose, that there is a communication between Repulse Bay and the Frozen Ocean, by which means the Boston ship could have passed, so as to have met with De_Fonte at Congecathawhachaga.

The

" S. W. by compass, distant 7 or 8 leagues. Sounded 74 fathoms. Sailing among strag-
 " gling ice, sounded 78 to 105 fathoms. 4 A. M. Cape Hope bore N. N. E. distant 5
 " leagues, in 55 fathoms."

As the public are already inclined, from the evidence of the late discoveries, to believe that this account was too hastily rejected, it will be unnecessary for me to enter into a minute refutation of the arguments which have been advanced against its authenticity. The very existence of such a person as De Fonte has been disputed; but, from the information of Mr. Dalrymple, we have to advance the authority of Witson. In the second edition of his *North and East Tartary*, printed in 1705, he professes to be in possession of the original manuscript of a survey of *Terra del Fuego*, made by one De Fonte in 1649; whence it will appear, that a person of that name was employed in the south seas, and if he surveyed the southernmost part that year, he might have been sent to examine the northern part of the continent in the year 1640.

Objections against
De Fonte's Narra-
tive considered.

His meeting with a ship belonging to Boston, has given many persons cause to discredit the account, because it was so early after the settlement of the colony in New England; but it is very clear, that the northern colonists did very early carry on a trade in Hudson's Bay. The intent of Gillam's voyage was principally to carry out Grosseliers, an inhabitant of Canada, who had been introduced to Prince Rupert by Mr. Montague, the English Ambassador at Paris. This man reported that he had crossed the lakes north of Montreal, and, during the time of his wintering in Hayes' River, he discovered six persons on the banks of Nelson River, who were put on shore by a ship from Boston, to seek

a place for the crew to winter in; and near to them he found a settlement, which he surprised, and became master of the country. After exploring the situation of it, he returned to Quebec, leaving his nephew in the command. A dispute arising with his employers about the plunder, he sent his brother to France to represent his case; but he returned without redress: on which account Groffeliers went himself to report the importance of the discovery; but being neglected by the French ministry, he obtained letters from Mr. Montague to Prince Rupert, at whose instance the voyage was set on foot, and a company chartered with the exclusive privilege of trading to those parts. It is evident from these circumstances, that the people of Boston not only carried on a trade, but even made settlements in those parts at a very early period. If we consider the time Groffeliers must have spent in his disputes at Quebec, and attendance on the ministry, added to the time which must necessarily be taken up in the different passages of himself and brother to and from France, we may be led to conclude, that the New England colonists had embarked in that trade as early as De Fonte has asserted.

The circumstance of the tide flowing into the Lake Belle, when there was found a fall of water at three quarters flood, has been objected to, because no similar observation has been made in other parts of the world. This has been called an absurd and incongruous dream, the production of some idle visionary, which wants only to be read, and it will refute itself. In
America,

America, the appearance of the country, the peculiar customs of its inhabitants, and the nature of its productions, are so very different from what we have been accustomed to observe, that it is not without reason it has been called a New World. Lakes similar to the Lake Belle are frequently met with in those parts, however unusual they may be in any other. That which terminates the Chesterfield Inlet may be brought as an example; but the western extremity of the River Wager is so similar, and the circumstances so pointedly marked, that I shall quote the description of it, from Ellis's account of the voyage which was made to determine the dispute between Captain Middleton and Mr. Dobbs (*l*).

And in further illustration of it, I shall add some remarks by Middleton, in his reply to Mr. Dobbs, when making his observations on this part of the river. Mr. Dobbs wanted to prove that

U 2

the

(*l*) *Ellis' Voyage, page 253.* For the purpose of examining the head of the straits, the boats were dispatched from the ships, "and continued a westerly course till it diminished in breadth from ten leagues to scarce one. It was now almost night, when we were alarmed by a very loud noise, resembling the sound of a vast cataract. Early in the morning, we discovered that the noise we had heard was occasioned by tides being confined in a passage about 60 yards wide, the tide commonly rising fourteen feet and a half at the full and change of the moon. Observing that the strait opened beyond this fall to five or six miles wide, and ran several leagues to the westward, we were still in hopes of a passage. Our greatest difficulty was to pass the fall; but we soon found that it might be passed without the least hazard at half flood, when the water below the fall was upon a level with that above. We passed the fall on the 2d of August, and above it the tide only rose four feet, and no ground was to be found with a line of 140 fathoms. We still saw seals and white whales. At day break the next morning we went on shore, and from the hills, that were not far from the coast, we had the mortification to see that it ended in two small unnavigable rivers, one of which plainly fell from a large lake, that lay some miles distance to the south-west.

the Lieutenant, when sent to explore the head of Wager River, met with a flood tide from the westward, which checked his progress, the water at the same time being found to rise by the shore. He laid great stress upon this circumstance; but the last quotation shews the result of a more accurate examination, and Capt. Middleton had before satisfactorily accounted for the cause of this appearance. An appearance, which, had not De Fonte navigated the Rio de los Reyes to its source, might have equally induced him to have formed an opinion similar to that of Mr. Dobbs (*m*).

Another cause of objection has been, that De Fonte says, the lake which bears his name contains a large quantity of fish, among which are cod and ling, whence it must have an immediate connexion with the sea. This might be the case and still the water be fresh; for according to Ellis's account, when he let a bottle down, in the upper part of Wager River above the fall, to 30 fathoms, where the cork was forced in, it brought up water
as

(*m*) *Middleton's Reply*, page 87. "The reasons given in this new account by which the Lieutenant was convinced, that there was a strong flood tide from west north-west, a judicious man will say are no reasons at all; for granting he altered the land very much until he met the fresh or water fall against him, that the boat fell astern by coming nearer to the cataract, and that it flowed six feet, as the Lieutenant says, these are no more than may be observed in all rivers. When you come to the end of the flood stream, the water swells several feet, though the fresh stream runs strong against you. This may be seen every tide of flood at London bridge, and continues for near a quarter of the tide, till the flood meets the ebbing stream, and they come to an horizontal plane. It is visible the sudden turning of the tide or fresh against him can be ascribed to nothing but his getting nearer the cataract, where it might run against him twice as fast as the boat went a-head, though they had a good breeze of wind."

as salt as that of the ocean. This is well known likewise to be the case in the Baltic at some seasons of the year; and Ellis says, in respect to the Chesterfield Inlet, that when the boats first saw it, they found the water so fresh 10 leagues within the entrance, as to give them no hopes of a passage, for which reason they neglected searching it any further, and it was not till the year 1761 that it was found to extend upwards of 200 miles to the westward. The freshness of the water here must evidently be from the great quantity of melted snow which is brought down by innumerable rivulets, the same as in the Baltic, because the tide was found to flow to the very extremity of the inlet, and further in the water is salt.

Another objection against the authenticity of the narrative, and which appears to have had considerable weight, is, that the tides which enter the rivers Haro and Los Reyes, flow only 22 or 24 feet, whereas the Rio Parmentire has falls in it measuring 32 feet perpendicular, independent of the declivity which is necessary to form a current, before it enters the Lake De Fonte(n).

Could

(n) Buffon has made some observations on this subject worth attending to, He says, " the celerity of running waters is not in exact proportion to the declivity of their channels. A river with an uniform declivity, and double to that of another, ought not, it would appear, to run with more than a double celerity; but its celerity is much more quick, being sometimes triple, sometimes quadruple, &c. The celerity depends more upon the quantity of water, and the weight of the superior waters, than upon the degree of descent. In digging the bed of a river or drain, it is unnecessary to make the descent uniform through its whole extent. A quick motion is more easily produced by making the declivity much greater at the source than at the mouth, where, like the beds of natural rivers, it is almost imperceptible, and yet they preserve their celerity, which is more or less, according to the quantity they contain ;

Could a canal have been constructed across the isthmus of Suez, great advantages would have accrued from it to the commerce of the east. In discussing this subject, much has been said upon the question, whether the Red Sea is higher than the Mediterranean(o). The object we have before us is of a similar nature, and without having recourse to any other authority than what is derived from an examination of the northern parts of America, I believe

contain; for in great rivers, even where the ground is level, the water still runs, not only with the velocity originally acquired, but with the accumulated velocity produced by the action and weight of the superior waters*. To make this matter still more plain, let us suppose the Seine from Pont-neuf to Pont-royal to be perfectly level, and to be ten feet deep; let us also suppose the bed of the river below Pont-royal and above Pont-neuf to be suddenly dried up; the waters, in this case, would run both up and down the channel, till their equilibrium was perfectly restored. This effect is produced solely by the weight of the water, which never allows it to remain at rest till its particles are equally pressed on all sides, and its surface reduced to a perfect level. The weight of water, therefore, contributes greatly to increase the celerity of its motion. This is the reason why the greatest celerity in a current of water is neither at the bottom nor at the surface, but nearly in the middle, which is pressed both by the column above, and by the reaction from the bottom. But, what is still more, when a river acquires a great celerity, it will not only preserve it, though running through a level country, but even surmount heights, without spreading much to a side, or, at least, without producing an inundation of any moment.—*Smellie's Buf. v. i. p. 261.*

(o) *Varenii Geograph. page 100.* "Oceanus Germanicus, qui est Atlantici pars, inter Frisiam et Hollandiam se effundens, efficit sinum, qui, etsi parvus sit respectu celeberrimorum finium maris, tamen et ipse dicitur mare, alluitque Hollandiæ emporium celeberrimum, Amstelodanum. Non procul inde abest lacus Harlemensis, qui etiam mare Harlemense dicitur. Hujus altitudo non est minor altitudine sinus illius Belgici, quem diximus, et mittit ramum ad urbem Leidam, ubi in varias fossas divaricatur. Quoniam itaque nec lacus hic, neque sinus ille Hollandici maris inundant adjacentes agros, (de naturali constitutione loquor, non ubi tempestatibus urgentur, propter quas aggeres facti sunt); patet inde, quod non sint altiores

* By not attending to these circumstances, Mr. Khun was led falsely to affirm, that the source of the Danube was at least two German miles higher than its mouth; that the Mediterranean is $6\frac{1}{4}$ German miles lower than the sources of the Nile; that the Atlantic Ocean is half a mile lower than the Mediterranean, &c.

believe I shall be able to prove, not only that there is no improbability in this account, but that there are other collections of water which communicate with the sea on both sides of the continent, as well as the Arathepescow Lake.

Mr. Turner, who was employed as the company's surveyor, says, on Indian authority, that the river which falls into the Cedar and Winnipeg Lakes, and from thence into Hudson's Bay, continues to be navigable as far above Hudson's House, which is in latitude 53 deg. north, and longitude 253 deg. 30 min. east, as below it, without any fall or rapid after passing the great rapid near Cedar Lake, for more than 200 miles. This appears to be further corroborated by the testimony of a late writer on the subject of the Hudson's Bay trade. He was employed by the company of Canadian merchants, and resided on the banks of the river from 1784 to 1787.

"In the year 1787," he says, "when the following remarks were made, I wintered in the computed latitude of 55 degrees north, and longitude 120 deg. west from London. I cannot sufficiently

tiores quam agri Hollandiæ. At vero Oceanum Germanicum esse altiore[m] quam terras hæc, experti sunt Leidenses, cum suscepissent fossam seu alveum ex urbe sua ad Oceani Germanici littora, prope Cattorum vicum perducere, (distantia est duorum milliarium) ut, recepto per alveum hunc mari, possent navigationem instituere in Oceanum Germanicum, et hinc in varias terræ regiones. Verum enim vero, cum magnam jam alvei portam perfecissent, desistere coacti sunt, quoniam tum demum per observationem cognitum est, Oceani Germanici aquam esse altiore[m] quam agrum inter Leidam et littus Oceani istius; unde locus ille, ubi fodere desierunt, dicitur *Het malle Gat*. Oceanus itaque Germanicus est aliquantum altior quam sinus ille Hollandicus, &c.

ficiently lament the opportunity I have lost of giving to a certainty the geographical situation of the place, for the want of necessary instruments. As this cannot be repaired, I must endeavour to compensate for it, by communicating such facts as have come to my knowledge, either through the channel of personal experience, or confidential information. The course of the river was nearly east, and I wintered about 700 miles above its discharge into the Cedar Lake. Its current is regular, and in the whole distance we have but one place where the passage is in the least impeded by rapids, and even this place is very trifling, and easily passed with proper care."—"What I have thought worthy of observation, during my stay here, has been the very sudden and rapid rise of the water in the river during the summer months, and this without any apparent cause or extraordinary rains."—"In the summer of 1786, I observed the water to rise 10 feet perpendicular in the space of 24 hours, thence it subsided gradually to its usual height, and then rapidly rose as before. The rising of the water drowns all the country about the bottom of the river, where the banks are uncommonly low; and it frequently happens, that the people who navigate the traders canoes are obliged to sleep in them for want of a place to put ashore. This river has several kinds of fish in it, and sturgeon in the spring of the year are in great plenty. Its distance above us is not known; but, by Indian information, it issues from an extraordinary ridge of rocks called the Stony Mountain."—"I have been told, it is seven days journey before you arrive at it;

it: it seems to have a north and south direction."—"About 270 miles below where I wintered, or 470 miles from its mouth, two branches unite in one, called the North and South Branch (*n*)."

The sudden rise and fall of the water here mentioned, at a time when there was no cause for it from extraordinary rains or otherwise, cannot be accounted for in any other way than by the flux and reflux of a tide. This is so evident, that I apprehend it will require no further observation to support it; and whenever the coast of the western sea is explored, I am convinced, that Mr. Umfreville will be found to have a considerable claim to the reward, offered by the society for the discovery of a passage from Upper Canada to the South Sea.

Names of places are in general so permanent as to retain a similarity in the sound, when other traces of the language are extinct. In the present case, we have four instances in which the native appellations appear to have been retained, viz. the Peninsula of Conibasset, and the ports of Conoffet, Arenna and Mynhasset. Captain Mears, in his Account of Voyages to the North West Coast of America, mentions the names of several villages as they were given to him by Wicananish, one of the chiefs. In all of them the termination, which I consider to be a very distinguishing resemblance, is *et*, *at*, or *it*, and in one, the final characteristic is particularly marked. The two last syllables of Ke-

Affinity between
the Nootkan and
the Names in De
Fonte's Narrative.

X

noumahafat

(*n*) Umfreville's Account of Hudson's Bay, page 146 et seq.

noumahafat correctly accord with Mynhasset of De Fonte. It is in vain, I think, to argue, that the fabricator of this account formed these names on the idiom of the American language of the east side of the continent; because some of the places there, as Cohasset, have the same termination. As the north-west coast of America, and consequently the language, was totally unknown in the year 1708, when the narrative was written, it must therefore be a strange coincidence, not to be accounted for, that in the language of a country then unknown the names of places should be so strikingly alike. It may be inferred, on the contrary, that the similarity between the sounds was so great, that instead of writing the name Mynhafat, they changed it to Mynhasset, in order to make it accord with the orthography of the language spoken by the Indians on the eastern side of the continent.

There is a strong similarity between the three first syllables of Arathepescow and Arenna, one of the places in the lake at which De Fonte anchored. The Canadians call the next lake Arabaska, if there be so great difference between modern travellers, why may not the other appellation be as near the true pronunciation, especially as Arathepescow seems to be a compound word, the former part of which might be intended to signify the real name of the lake? The similarity of the names in fact is so very striking, that Mr. Duncan was convinced of the authenticity of De Fonte's account, when he heard them give the names of Claafet, Kenoumahafat, and Eloiset, to some of their villages, before he
had

had any opportunity of examining the coast in the latitude where he afterwards recognized the Archipelago of St. Lazarus.

Observations made in different parts of the world, afford strong proofs that the sea once covered the surface of the earth, from whence it has been raised by the effect of subterranean fire. Without entering further into the subject, I shall only remark, that there are many appearances in the northern parts of the American continent, which favour the opinion of several respectable authors, who suppose, that it emerged at a later period than the other continent above the surface of the sea; as a great number of volcanos still exist on the north-west coast, and the chain of islands which extend between the two continents, called the Fox Islands, appear to have been formed by volcanic eruptions. It has indeed been supposed that some parts of Spitzbergen have very *lately* been raised out of the sea; as above a league within land, beyond the mountains which form the sea coast, the mast of a ship, with part of the rigging, was found some years since (q).

Observations on
Northern Parts of
the American Con-
tinent.

X 2

On

(q) *Recueil des Voyages du Nord, Tom 1, page 154.*

But this ought not to be considered as a proof, that the sea once covered the land where the mast was found; as the greater part of Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla is, in all probability, an accumulation of ice covered with a small proportion of soil. Wood, who was shipwrecked upon Nova Zembla in 1676, says, that “most part of the country is covered perpetually with snow, and that that is bare is not to be walked on, being like bogs, upon whose superficies grows a moss, which beareth a small blue and yellow flower; under the superficies of this earth, about two feet deep, after we had dug so low, we came to a firm body of ice, which, as I think, was never heard of before; so these men that did imagine, if they were forced to winter to the northward, would dig caves in the earth to preserve
and

On the west coast of Hudson's Bay, it is well known, that the sea has retired considerably since the first establishment of the settlements; as at Churchill, the Indians remark, that canoes have passed within their remembrance over rocks, where the highest tides do not flow at present by several feet; and Mr. Duncan, whose voyage has been noticed at page 52, found such evident marks of the sea having retired, that although he is fully convinced of the authenticity of De Fonte's account, from his observations on the other side of the continent, yet he thinks the sea might have retired so as to leave the route impracticable in the present day. But it should be observed, that he formed this opinion from his survey of the Chesterfield Inlet; where the Company sent him to endeavour to find out the passage in De Fonte's Lake; as he found a large bed of cockle shells on the banks of the

"themselves from the cold, would find here but very bad lodging." It has been observed, that the ice is heaped up along the coast of Spitzbergen, forming what are called Icebergs, and those who have penetrated into the country have observed, that the mountains consist of gravel, and flat stones, like grey slate, heaped upon one another, which are raised by the wind, and form new appearances every year. Now I should apprehend, the mast found so far inland, might have been part of the wreck of some vessel lost in the ice, and the field on which she was wrecked, being afterwards grounded near the shore, in process of time would be covered by the loose gravel and flakes before mentioned, and succeeding seasons forming fresh icebergs without it, it might, without digging below the surface, be supposed to have been raised above the sea. This opinion seems to be confirmed by some of these icebergs, which have the appearance of land, being sometimes broke from the shores by hard gales of wind, as appears by the collection of Dutch voyages in the north, where there is an instance of a ship being moored to a field of ice, during which time the men climbed up to the top of it, which was 10 fathoms above the water, where they found it covered with earth, and the birds had laid their eggs. The colour of the ice was a fine azure blue, and totally different from the other fields. This circumstance gave rise to various speculations, some imagining it to be the effect of the ice, and others thought the whole was a mass of frozen earth, *Vide Troisième Voyage des Hollandois, par le Nord, Vol. 1, page 46.*

the lake forming the west part of the inlet, and which is now fresh water, several feet above the reach of the sea, and what is still a stronger proof of the fact, on the top of the rocks were evident marks of the ice having been carried by the current several feet above the reach of the highest tide. These observations led him to conclude, that the north-west part of the Welcome, which is in general low land, has been overflowed at some former period, and that there might have been a communication between the Dobaunt Lake and the Chesterfield Inlet. His remarks likewise, when he was surveying Corbet's Inlet, tend to prove the former existence of some volcano; as he observed the sun to reflect the most beautiful colours from the ridge of rocks over which the river forms several cataracts. Now as he says these rocks have the appearance of iron, they were most likely produced from the crater of some extinguished volcano, the lava of which, being suddenly cooled by the action of water, produced the basaltic columns which occasioned the reflection he noticed.

I observed before, that cod and ling being found in De Fonte's Lake is no proof of its immediate communication with the sea, as they have been caught in lakes where the water is perfectly fresh. This is certainly a fact, as cod and ling, exactly of the same species as those in the neighbouring seas, excepting that they are not so thick in proportion to their length, are caught in the Wennipeg Lake, along the banks of which some small quantities of salt have likewise been found. This is a circumstance

stance worth attending to. May we not conclude from hence, that when the sea retired from the land, the fish were left in the *valley* which formed this lake, and as it would be a long while before it became quite fresh, the succeeding fry might become habituated to an element, in which they would have perished had not the change been gradually effected?

CONCLUSION.

This change, which has in all probability taken place even lately in those parts, might have effaced some vestiges of De Fonte's track; but I think it may be concluded from a review of the preceding pages, that there was a passage, such as he describes, between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean, the rediscovery of which appears to afford great prospect of advantage to the commerce of this country. Perhaps the best way to effect this object would be, to offer a premium in such manner, and under such regulations, as I have proposed in respect to the Strait of Anian; as it is very evident had Mr. Duncan, when in the Archipelago of St. Lazarus in 1787, been certain of a reward, he would have prosecuted a discovery, which the commercial interests of his owners alone obliged him to relinquish.

F I N I S.



I N D E X.

A

A GUILAR, (Martin) discovers Cape Blanco, and an opening near to it, 79.

ALARCON (Fernando) arrives at the bottom of the Gulph of California—enters the Colorado or North River—Ramusio's account of his Expedition, 62.

ALEUTIAN, Andreanoff and Fox Islands discovered by the Russians, and called the Catherine Archipelago, 40.

AMERICAN Continent. Observations on its northern part, 155—lately emerged from the sea, *ibid.*

ANDREANOFF Islands, 40.

ANIAN, Straits of, supposed to be the communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, 58—enquiry concerning their name, 100 to 116.

ARATHAPESKOW, or Great Slave Lake, 85, 135, 139.

B

BAFFIN, (see Bylot) Remarks on his account of Lancaster's Sound, 83. His first voyage compared with Ferrer de Maldonado's, 97.

BARLOW, (and Knight) their voyage and loss, 38.

BEHRING, (Captain) his expedition—Visits the Coast of America with Tschiriskoff, 40.

BELLE LAKE, probably part of the Great Slave Lake, 138. Tide flows into it, 146.

BERNARDA, his track, observations on.—Island of Conibasset and Peninsula recognized, 130 and 131.

BUENO, (Cabrera) His account of the ship St. Augustin's voyage, 76.

BUTTON, (Thomas) visits Hudson's Bay—discovers Carey Swan's Nest—winters at Port Nelson, and resumes his discoveries, 28.

BUACHE (Monf.) cited, 68, 76, 100—106, 112.

BYLOT (and Baffin) visit Hudson's Bay, 29—discover the Mill Islands and Cape Comfort 30—visit Davis's Straits, Horn Sound and Womens Islands, see the inlets called Smith, Whale, Jones, and Lancaster's Sounds, 30 and 31—Sail thro' Baffin's Straits, 32.

C

CABOT (Sebastian) discovers Newfoundland and part of the Coast of America, 12.

CARRILLO, (Juan Rodriguez) examines the west coast of California, 63—discovers Cape Mendocino, 64.

CALIFORNIA discovered, 60—Observations on its Gulf, 62, 63.

CANADIAN TRADERS, their discoveries, 85

CATHERINA ARCHIPELAGO discovered by BEHRING, 40.

CHACHE, (Martin) his voyage, 14.

CHESTERFIELD INLET, seen by Moore and Smith's Boats, 44—examined by Christopher, 45, 46—examined again by Duncan, 54.

CHRISTOPHER, (Capt.) sent to explore Chesterfield Inlet, 45—sent again with Norton—their account of the inlet, 46.

CIBOLA discovered by Mark de Niza, 59.

COGEAD LAKE, 140.

COLUMBUS, (Ch.) discovers America, 9—sends his brother to England, 12.

COOK, (Capt.) his voyage, 50—discovers **ICY CAPE**, 84—his account of Prince William's Sound, with observations thereon, 89, 90, 91—his reasons for not exploring the Straits of De Fonte, 127.

CORBET'S INLET examined by Mr. Duncan, 53.

CONIBASSET. Island and Peninsula, 130, 136.

COPPER MINE RIVER visited by Mr. Hearne, 47.

CORONADO (Francisco Vasquez) discovers Teguayo, 60—and Quivira, 61.

CORTERREAL (Gaspar de) visits Newfoundland, and discovers Labrador, 13, 111.

CORTES discovers California, 60.

D

DAVIS, (John) his first voyage, 19—his second voyage, 20—his third voyage, 21.

DIXON (Capt.) discovers Charlotte's Isles, 133.

DUNCAN, (Mr.) sent to attempt a passage thro' Hudson's Bay, 52—arrives at Marble Island, and examines Corbet's Inlet, 53—examines Chesterfield Inlet, 54—his account of the Straits of De Fuca, 67—of the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, 134.

E

EDLAND LAKE of Mr. Hearne supposed to be the same as De Fonte's Lake, 139.

F

FONTE. (Bartholomew de) His narrative, 128 to 132—his lake the same as the Edland Lake of Hearne, and communicates with Repulse Bay, 139—objections to his narrative considered, 145—the names of places therein like the Nootka names, 153.

FOX ISLANDS discovered by the Russians, 40

FOX (Lucas) sails into Hudson's Bay and anchors at Marble Island, then proceeds up the Welcome, and visits Carey Swan's Nest and the Mill Islands, 34—discovers King Charles's Promontory, Cape Maria, and Lord Weston's Portland, 35.

FROBISHER (Sir Martin) visits Friesland and Labrador, and discovers Frobisher's Straits, 15—discovers West Friesland, 16—observations on his Straits, 17

FROZEN OCEAN seen by Maldonado, 82—by Canadian Traders, 85.

FUCA (Juan de) Sails through an Inlet into a large Sea, 64—observations on his voyage, 65, 66—his Straits visited by English vessels in 1787, 66—his Sea navigated by an American vessel, 66.

G

GIBBONS (Captain) visits Labrador, 29.

GILLAM (Zachary) Account of his voyage, and remarks thereon 37, 38.

GROSSELIERS (Mr.) carried out by Gillam, 145—his account of the Lakes north of Montreal, 146.

H

HALL, (Capt) his voyage to Davis's Straits, 25—Voyage with Richards, 26,—Voyage to Greenland, and Death, 28.

HAWKSBRIDGE, (Capt.) Account of his voyage by Fox, 32.

HEARNE, (Mr.) discovers the Copper Mine and its River, 47—passes by Arathapescow Lake on his return, 48.

HECETA, (Don Bruno) account of his expedition and discoveries, 48, 49.

HUDSON, (Capt.) discovers the Strait and Bay which bear his name, and perishes, 27.

J

JAMES, (Thomas) Account of his voyage to Hudson's Bay. 35, 36.

JAPANESE MAP, (of Kämpfer) Remarks on, 87, 88, 89.

K

KNIGHT, his first voyage in company with Lindenau and Hall, 24—his second voyage and death, 25, 26.

KNIGHT and BARLOW, sent on a voyage, and lost, 38.

L

LINDENAU, (Godske) his voyage to Greenland, 25.

LANCASTER, (Capt.) his account of a N.W. passage, 91, 92—Voyages made in consequence thereof, 93 to 97—was acquainted with Maldonado's voyage, 93.

LOWRIE and GUISE, 133.

LOARIA or LOAYSA, (Garcias) his voyage, 81, 111.

M

MACKENZIE (Mr.) discovers Whale Island 86—136.

MAGELLAN discovers the Straits called by his name, 9.

MALDONADO, (Ferrer de) Account of his voyage, 76—sails thro' a Strait into the Frozen Ocean, 82—passes thro' a Strait that separates Asia from America, which he called the Strait of Anian, 77—observations on his voyage, 81, 82.

MAURELLE, (Antonio) his Journal, 127—published by the Spaniards, in order to mislead Capt. Cook, 128.

MEARES (Capt) winters in Prince William's Sound, 119.

MELGUER (David) sails between Greenland and Spitzbergen, 14.

MIDDLETON, (Capt.) account of him, 41—explores Wager River and Repulse Bay, 42, 43—his ill treatment, 44.

MOLUCCA Islands, ceded by Spain to Portugal, 14.

MONBODDO, (Lord) Remarks on, 116.

MOORE and SMITH, their voyage to, and account of, Chesterfield Inlet and Wager River, 44.

MUNCK, (Jens) his voyage to Hudson's Bay, where he wintered in Munck's Harbour, 33.

N

NOOTKA SOUND, 133.

NORTHERN SEAS, Observations on the navigation of the, 116.

NORTON (Mr.) sent with Capt. Christopher to examine Chesterfield Inlet, 45, 56.

NOVA ZEMBLA and Spitzbergen, probably formed from Icebergs, 155.

O

OBSERVATIONS on Frobisher's Straits, 17

OBSERVATIONS on Gillam's voyage, 37.

_____ on Gulph of California, 62.

_____ on De Fuca's voyage, 65

_____ on the Padouca Indians 71

_____ on Maldonado's voyage, 81.

_____ on Kämpfer's Map, 86—

89.

_____ on the navigation of the Northern Seas, 116.

_____ on Bernarda's Track, 135

_____ on Pond's Narrative, 136

_____ on the North of the American Continent, 155.

P

PADOUCAS (or Welsh Indians) Remarks on, 71, 72, 73.

PECHE (Thomas) sails within the Straits of Anian, 80.

PENELOSSO (Don Diego) 128.

PICKERSGILL, (Lieut.) sent to survey Baffin's Bay, and miscarries, 51.

POND, (Peter) Observations on his narrative, 136, 137, 138.

PORTUGUESE, their Discoveries in Africa, 4—visit West Coast of America, 102.

PTOLEMY, Observations on his Geography of India, 115.

R

REPULSE BAY has a communication with the Frozen Ocean, 142, 144.

RICHARDS (Carsten) and Hall make an unsuccessful voyage, 26.

RONQUILLO, (Phillip de) 128—Straits named after him. 132—supposed to be the Cogead Lake of Mr. Hearne, 140.

S

St. AUGUSTIN, (Ship) Account of her voyage and loss, by Cabrera Bueno, 76.

St. LAZARUS, (Archipelago of) explored by Duncan, 52—recognized by Lowrie, 133—by Hanna, 134—by Duncan, 134.

Y

SCROGGS, (Capt.) Account of his expedition to the Welcome, and of the Copper Mine, 39.

SHAPELY, (Capt.) 132.

SMITH. See Moore.

SPITZBERGEN. See Nova Zembla.

SPANIARDS establish ports at Monterey and San Francisco, 79.

T

TURNER, (Mr.) his account of Cedar and Winnipeg Lakes, &c. 151, 152.

Tschiriskoff. See Behring.

U

UMFREVILLE, (Mr.) 153.

V

VASCO, (de Gama) sails round the Cape of Good Hope to the Malabar Coast, 6.

VELASCO, (Lake) supposed to be the Arathapescow or Great Slave Lake, 135.

VERAZANNI discovers Canada, and is slain in his second voyage by the natives of that country, 7.

VIZCAINO, (Sebastian) his first voyage, 76—second voyage, 78—discovers ports San Diego and Monterey, 79—observations on his voyage, 98.

W

WAGER RIVER discovered and explored by Middleton, 42—again explored by Moore and Smith, 44.

WEYMOUTH, (George) Account of his voyage and discovery, 22, 23.

WHALE ISLAND discovered by Mackenzie, 86.

Y

YOUNG, (Lieut.) his voyage to Baffin's Bay, and ill success, 52.

